

TARGET FIGURES
for the
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
of the
SOVIET UNION
1959-1965

*Report to the Special 21st Congress
of the Communist Party of
the Soviet Union, January 27, 1959
and Reply to Discussion
by
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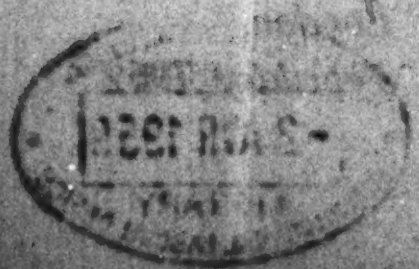
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TARGET FACILITIES
for the
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
of the
SOVIET UNION
1950-1965

Report to the Special Committee
of the Communist Party of
the Soviet Union, January 27, 1958
and Reply to Discussion

J. S. WARTSHOF



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Report to the Special 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U.

Comrades, The 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has assembled to examine the target figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. for 1959-65. Our congress will study the programme of further Communist construction in the Soviet Union, of a fresh advance in the economy, culture and living standards of the people. It is a great programme. In its magnitude, it is without precedent in history. The September 1958 plenary meeting of the central committee found it necessary to convene this special congress to discuss the Seven-Year Plan of economic development in view of its tremendous importance.

Three years have elapsed since the 20th Party Congress. During these years our Soviet motherland has continued to advance confidently forward along Lenin's path to Communism; it has still further increased its strength, and its international prestige has risen to new heights in the struggle for the consolidation of peace and friendship among the peoples. In acting upon the decisions of the 20th Party Congress and the subsequent plenary meetings of the central committee, the Soviet people have scored outstanding successes in industry, agriculture, science and culture. Living standards in town and countryside have risen considerably.

This period has shown the historical importance of the Party congress decisions, both for the building of Communism in the U.S.S.R. and for the entire international Communist and working-class movement. The Socialist world is now stronger, more united and indestructible than ever before. It is exerting a decisive influence on the entire course of world development. We have every reason to claim that the Socialist countries stand at the head of all progress. The imposing successes of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and all the countries of the Socialist camp show what can be accomplished by working people who have become the complete masters of their life, their destiny.

The great revolutionising force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism—illuminating the road to peace, democracy and progress, to man's happy future—is embodied in the epoch-making gains of the Socialist countries.

Comrades, we have at our congress delegates from the Communist and Workers' Parties of 70 countries. Allow me, on behalf of our congress, of the whole Party and of the entire Soviet people, to extend once more a hearty welcome to our dear guests, the leaders of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties.

I

The Great Gains of the Soviet People

Comrades, soon after the great October Socialist Revolution had triumphed, V. I. Lenin wrote, substantiating the programme of our party: "In launching out upon Socialist reconstruction, we must set ourselves the goal to which it is, in the final analysis, directed, namely, the creation of a Communist society . . ." [*V. I. Lenin, Works, 4th Russ. Ed., vol. 27, p. 103.*]

This great goal of building Communism in our country has always inspired the Soviet people to ever-greater feats.

In carrying out the policy of industrialising the country and collectivising agriculture, our people, under the leadership of the Party and its central committee, headed for many years by I. V. Stalin, have effected deep-going changes. Surmounting all difficulties and breaking the resistance of the class enemies and their agents—Trotskyites, Right Wing opportunists, bourgeois nationalists and others—our Party and the entire Soviet people have scored historic victories, and established a new Socialist society. Backward in the past, our country has become a great industrial and collective-farm Socialist Power. At the moment, it is first in Europe and second in the world in industrial output.

Our economic plans are being successfully fulfilled year after year. Compared with 1913, gross industrial output has grown 36 times over, while output of means of production has increased 83 times over, and the output of the engineering and metal-working industries 240 times over.

The plan for 1958 has been successfully fulfilled in all branches of the national economy. Last year, industrial output increased by 10 per cent, instead of the 7.6 per cent set down in the plan. The production plan has been fulfilled and overfulfilled by all the Union Republics and all the economic councils. Major successes have been achieved in agriculture. The overall building and construction plan, and the housing development plan, have been overfulfilled.

In 1958, the U.S.S.R. produced nearly 55 million tons of steel, 113 million tons of oil and 233,000 million kwh of electric power. We now produce more steel and oil in a single month than Russia produced in the whole of 1913. Every three days as much electric power is generated as was generated in a year in pre-revolutionary Russia.

All of us are gladdened by such an impressive index of economic development as the growth of capital investments in our national economy. Postwar capital investments by the State, in present-day prices, totalled more than 1,600,000 million roubles. In 1958 alone, capital in-

vestments amounted to 235,000 million roubles, which is more than was invested in the entire First and Second Five-Year Plan periods.

Bourgeois economists and politicians have often foretold that the Soviet Union would be compelled to slow down its economic development when it rehabilitated its national economy after the war. But their prophecies have burst like soap bubbles. The Soviet economy continues to develop at a rapid pace.

The tremendous scale of industrial production and its high rates of growth have been reached through an extensive use of the latest achievements of science and engineering. Steady technical progress in all spheres of the national economy is being ensured chiefly by the development of electrification and the engineering industry, especially machine-tool building and instrument making, radio electronics, electrical engineering and the building of machines providing for comprehensive mechanisation and automation. More than 4,500 new types of machines and apparatus have been designed and put into use in production in the last three years alone.

Labour productivity is rising continuously on the basis of technical progress and the nationwide Socialist emulation movement. In spite of the considerably shorter working day, labour productivity in industry was about ten times higher in 1958 than in 1913. Compared with 1940 productivity of labour per worker last year was 2.6 times higher in industry and 2.4 times higher in construction.

The reorganisation of management in industry and construction was a major factor in accelerating economic development. The considerable advantages of the new form of industrial management became evident relatively soon after the establishment of the Economic Councils. Management of production became more efficient. Industrial output grew at a faster rate, better use was made of the inner potentialities of industry and of the country's natural resources; workers, technicians and engineers showed greater initiative and activity and Socialist emulation proceeded on a bigger scale than before. Better opportunities were created further to develop specialisation and co-ordination. In this period, the number of enterprises failing to fulfil the plan decreased by more than a third.

During the first year of work of the Economic Councils, the increase in industrial output was 17,000 million roubles greater than in the preceding year. In 1957 and 1958, the planned rise in labour productivity and the planned reduction of production costs were exceeded. During 1958 the saving yielded by the reduction in costs, over and above the plan, amounted to more than 10,000 million roubles. However, it must be noted that we still have factories that lag behind, that do not fulfil the plan assigned to them. We must continue tirelessly to improve the management of industry, to expose and eliminate shortcomings in the work of industry and to make fuller use of its potentialities.

Our country has made remarkable progress in Socialist agriculture. Last December's plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. summed up the results achieved in agriculture in the past five years, criticised the shortcomings and outlined the basic tasks of further increasing the output of farm produce.

In effect, this plenary meeting was the Party's political report to the people on the fulfilment of measures aimed at bringing about a steep rise in agriculture over the past five years.

You may recall that there were grave shortcomings and mistakes in the way agriculture was managed in the past. Many collective farms remained economically weak for years, output of agricultural produce made little headway and its level did not satisfy the country's growing need for food and agricultural raw materials. At that time, our agriculture was in a critical state, fraught with dangerous consequences which could have held up the Soviet Union's advance toward Communism. At the plenary meeting held in September 1953, at subsequent plenary meetings of the central committee and at the 20th Congress, our Party sharply criticised the mistakes made in managing agriculture, cast off everything that hindered the development of the collective and State farms and outlined a programme for a steep rise in agricultural production.

The Party, the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia had to make a great effort to overcome the lag in agriculture and to ensure its further development. The Party started out on extensive organisational and political work among the masses. Important economic problems of the development of Socialist agriculture were solved and the principle of affording all farms a material incentive to raise agricultural output was restored. The collective and State farms were strengthened with specialists, machine operators and managers. Hundreds of thousands of tractors and grain combines and millions of machines and implements of different kinds were sent to the countryside. In the past five years, State capital investments in agriculture totalled about 100,000 million roubles.

In response to the call of the central committee, the Soviet working people developed tens of millions of hectares* of new land. This was a heroic exploit. At the December plenary meeting of the central committee, it was noted that in the past five years the virgin land development gave the country additional thousands of millions of poods† of grain and not only recovered all the money originally invested in the undertaking but, according to the central statistical board and the Ministry of Finance, yielded a net income of more than 18,000 million roubles.

Successful implementation of the measures planned by the Party and approved and supported by the entire Soviet people made it possible to eliminate the lag in agriculture and to strengthen the collective and State farms within a short period, to reorganise the machine and tractor stations and to introduce a new system and conditions for the procurement of agricultural products.

As the December plenary meeting of the central committee showed, the steep rise in agriculture, planned and carried out by the Party, is of truly revolutionary importance and is bearing our country remarkable fruit.

In 1958, the State procured 3,500 million poods of grain, or 1,600 million poods more than in 1953. In the last five-year period, the grain

*One hectare = 2.47 acres. †61 poods = one metric ton.

output has increased by an annual average of 39 per cent compared with the preceding five-year period. This, comrades, is a great victory.

Substantial successes have also been achieved in the output of other crops, particularly sugar beet and cotton. More than 54 million tons of sugar beet were harvested in 1958, which is over 100 per cent more than in 1953. Last year, cotton growers collected and sold to the State 4,400,000 tons of cotton. Never before has so much cotton been procured in our country.

The successes scored in communal animal breeding are especially outstanding. You know that the targets set by the January 1955 plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. to raise the collective farm milk yield to 1,700 kg* per cow and milk procurements by 80 per cent in 1960, were exceeded in 1957, i.e. in three years instead of six.

In 1958, the procurements of animal products showed the following increases over 1953: milk more than 100 per cent, meat 56 per cent, wool 60 per cent. The growth of social production and the modification of the system of procurement prices has led to a considerable rise in collective farm incomes.

Today, the Soviet Union has a powerful versatile industry and transport and a highly mechanised Socialist agriculture.

Our social wealth and the national income are growing continuously. Since the establishment of Soviet power, the national income has increased fifteen-fold per head of population.

The material welfare of the Soviet people is steadily rising on the basis of the general advance of Socialist economy and the growth of labour productivity. In 1958 the real incomes of factory and office workers were almost double the 1940 figure, while the real income in agriculture per farmer increased by more than 100 per cent. Every year sees a larger sum of money allocated to satisfy the material and spiritual requirements of the people. The important measures the Party and the Government carried out in recent years—especially since the 20th Congress of our Party—to raise the material welfare of the Soviet people are known to all.

Comrades, the cultures of all the nations and nationalities in our country are thriving as never before. In the national economy there are now nearly 7,500,000 specialists with college or special secondary school training, i.e. 39 times as many as in 1913. The enrolment at Soviet institutions of higher education is approximately four times that of Britain, France, Western Germany and Italy taken together. Our institutions of higher education are training nearly three times as many engineers as the higher schools of the United States. Soviet art and literature are playing an increasing role in educating people in the Communist spirit.

Unlimited possibilities have been opened in the Soviet Union for the creative development of science and engineering, for discoveries and inventions. Nearly ten million inventions and improvements helping to develop engineering, reduce production costs and improve the labour conditions of millions of people have been introduced into the national economy between 1950 and 1958. In the past three years, these improvements have yielded a saving of almost 24,000 million roubles.

* One kilogram=2.2 lbs.

Soviet scientists, designers and engineers have rendered their country great services and are making a worthy contribution to the nationwide cause of building Communism. The whole world is aware of the successes of Soviet science in nuclear physics and nuclear power, jet aviation and rocket engineering. Notable achievements have been made in solving the problem of using thermonuclear energy for peaceful purposes. The Soviet Union has started the serial production of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The successful launching of the world's first earth satellites in 1957 was an outstanding triumph of our scientists and people, and was a vivid demonstration of how high the industrial and technical level of the Soviet Union had risen. The whole world enthusiastically hailed it as the beginning of a new era in the history of nature's subjugation by man, an era of conquering outer space. The momentous importance of this victory was that it showed the whole world the mighty creative power of the Socialist system.

Early in the beginning of 1959 the first year of the Seven-Year Plan, Soviet scientists, designers, engineers and workers performed another exploit of world importance by successfully launching a multi-stage space rocket in the direction of the moon. Soviet people are filled with patriotic pride in their beloved motherland, which is heading modern scientific and technical progress and blazing the trail into the future. All progressive mankind shares our joy over this great scientific feat. Now, in the face of irrefutable facts, even the enemies of Socialism are forced to acknowledge this tremendous achievement of the cosmic age, this new triumph of the Soviet Union.

The first Soviet earth satellites and the launching of the Soviet space rocket, which became the first artificial planet of the solar system, constitute an epoch in the advance of scientific knowledge. It is an impressive event in the epoch of Communist development.

We Soviet people cannot help but rejoice in successes such as these.

The world's first earth satellite was the Soviet sputnik. The first artificial planet of the solar system was made in the Soviet Union.

In the boundless expanses of the cosmos it is proudly carrying a pennant with the coat of arms of the Soviet Union and the inscription: "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. January 1959."

Comrade delegates, our Party, the entire Soviet people, set great store by the fact that the launching of the multi-stage space rocket in the direction of the moon by a group of workers from research institutes, designing offices, factories and testing organisations was dedicated to the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Allow me, on your behalf, on behalf of the entire Party and the whole Soviet people, to convey from the lofty rostrum of the congress our congratulations to the creators of the new interplanetary rocket on their great victory, and to express to them profound gratitude and appreciation and heartfelt wishes for their health and further creative successes, to the glory of the Soviet Union, in the name of the triumph of Communism!

We have achieved immense successes in developing our Socialist economy and culture, in the struggle to improve the living conditions of

the working people. These successes have been achieved because the building of Communism has become the cherished goal of the entire people, of every politically conscious Soviet citizen. The recent measures of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government, ensuring a further economic advance, have given birth to a fresh political and productive effort by the masses and have further consolidated the alliance of the working class and the peasantry which is the solid basis of the Soviet State. They have led to a further strengthening of the fraternal friendship between the free, equal and independent peoples of the Soviet Union.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is a multi-national State of working people, a voluntary union of Socialist nations, is being strengthened with each passing year. The result of the consistent implementation of Lenin's national policy and of fraternal mutual aid is that the once economically and culturally backward national republics now have big modern industries, large-scale mechanised agriculture, a wide network of educational, scientific and cultural establishments and numerous highly trained personnel. Lately, the rights of the union republics have been considerably extended. This marks a further development of Soviet democracy and enables each republic to promote its economy and culture at a still faster rate.

Comrades, the Communist Party has come to its 21st Congress monolithic and united as never before, full of creative energy. The domestic and international position of the Soviet Union has never been as firm as it is today. Engaged in constructive labour, the peoples of our country are carrying on a persevering and consistent struggle to preserve peace, to consolidate and expand friendly co-operation and mutual understanding with all countries. This struggle has the heartfelt approval and backing of all peaceloving peoples. The Soviet Union, the invincible camp of Socialism, which has everything necessary to bridle the forces of aggression, is a mighty bulwark of peace and international security.

Great successes have been scored by us in building Communism and in the struggle for peace among the peoples. But we remember Lenin's behest that we should never rest content with what has been achieved, that we must march forward toward fresh successes, fresh triumphs.

II

Principal Tasks of the Seven-Year Plan of Economic Development in the USSR

Comrades, under the leadership of the Party the Soviet people have reached such summits and have carried out such far-reaching changes in all spheres of economic, public and political life, that our country now has the opportunity to enter a new, important period of its development—the period of the comprehensive building of Communist society.

The principal tasks of this period are to establish the material and technical base of Communism, to further strengthen the economic and defensive might of the U.S.S.R. and, at the same time, to provide for the fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of the people. The historical task of overtaking and surpassing the leading capitalist countries in output per capita must be carried out. Implementation of these tasks will require a time-span that goes beyond the bounds of the Seven-Year Plan.

The main direction in which the Soviet Union's productive forces will develop within the next 15 years was outlined at the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. in November 1957. The Seven-Year Plan is an important part of this long-term economic and cultural programme.

What are our principal tasks in the coming seven years?

In the economic field, all-round development of the productive forces and, on the basis of priority expansion of the heavy industry, the achievement of a level of production in all branches of economy which would enable us to take a decisive step toward the establishment of a material and technical base for Communism and to ensure the Soviet Union's triumph in peaceful economic competition with the capitalist countries. The increase of the country's economic potential, further technical progress in all economic spheres and the continuous growth of the productivity of social labour must bring about a substantial rise in the standard of living.

In the political field, further consolidation of the Soviet Socialist system, the unity and solidarity of the Soviet people, development of Soviet democracy, the activity and initiative of the broad masses in the building of Communism, extension of the functions of public bodies in matters of State importance, increase in the organisational and educational role of the Party and the Socialist State, and an all-out strengthening of the alliance between the workers and the peasants and of the friendship of the peoples of our country.

In the ideological field, intensifying the ideological and educational

work of the Party, raising the level of Communist consciousness, particularly among the rising generation, instilling a Communist approach to labour and developing the spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism, eliminating the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, and combating bourgeois ideology.

In international relations, consistent following of a foreign policy aimed at preserving and consolidating international peace and security, on the basis of Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. The cold war must be ended and international tension eased. Every effort must be made further to strengthen the world Socialist system and the community of fraternal peoples.

The basic problem of the coming seven years is to make the most of the time factor in Socialism's peaceful economic competition with capitalism.

The programme of economic development is further striking evidence of the fact that, in the coming seven years, as in all the preceding years, Soviet economy will develop along peaceful lines. We shall steadfastly continue to pursue Lenin's policy of peace.

* * *

Comrades, the great vital force and invincibility of our Party lies in its unbreakable ties with the masses. In past years the Party has systematically submitted all major problems of Communist construction to nationwide discussion.

An extensive pre-congress discussion of the economic development targets for 1959-65 was conducted after the November plenary meeting of the central committee. At factories, construction sites, collective and State farms, scientific and educational establishments and in the army and navy more than 968,000 meetings attended by over 70 million people were held to discuss these targets. All in all, 4,672,000 comrades spoke at these meetings, tabling criticisms, additions and suggestions. Moreover, central and local Party and Government bodies, newspapers and magazines, and radio and television stations received more than 650,000 letters containing suggestions and criticisms on different aspects of the targets. Over 300,000 of them were published.

The target figures were discussed very thoroughly and in a business-like manner at regional and territorial Party conferences and at congresses of the Communist Parties of the union republics.

These meetings of working people, and the Party conferences and congresses showed that our Party, the entire Soviet people, have unanimously approved the target figures and have enthusiastically welcomed the Seven-Year Plan as a mighty programme of Communist construction. The people have voiced their determination to fulfil and surpass the targets of the Seven-Year Plan. Following a fine Soviet tradition, the preparations for the Party congress and the nation-wide discussion of the target figures were accompanied by large-scale Socialist emulation and by fulfilment of State plans and assignments ahead of schedule.

In my report I haven't the opportunity to examine in detail the numerous suggestions that were put forward during the discussion. All of them

express the concern of the Soviet people for our country to continue to develop its economy and culture, and for the life of our people to progress from good to better.

Many of the suggestions raise important questions linked with our country's economic development. They touch upon the distribution of the productive forces, the best fields for capital investment in the various branches of the national economy, and other questions. The most valuable of these suggestions were widely discussed at Party conferences and congresses and were found to merit serious attention. They are being taken into account in the economic plans of the republics and regions, while some of them will be incorporated in the countrywide Seven-Year Plan.

Allow me to dwell on some of the suggestions made during the discussion of the theses.

On examining their prospects for the coming seven years, the permanent production conference of the Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works put forward a number of vital suggestions concerning the draft plan for the development of their works.

The seven-year target provided for a 17 per cent increase in the works' steel output, while the draft plan for the extension of the rolled stock plant showed that it was possible to raise the output of steel by approximately 42 per cent. Thus, in the draft plan there was a disparity between the growth of steel and rolled metals production capacity.

The production conference suggested that the plan should provide for the building of a converter shop at the Kuznetsk works, since that would enable it to make full use of the rolled metals output capacity and annually produce additional hundreds of thousands of tons of steel and rolled metal. It will be about a third the cost and will take less time to build the converter shop than an open-hearth shop of the same capacity.

This proposal, which is of great national economic importance, was examined and accepted by the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. The Kuznetsk Iron and Steel Works is to build a converter shop with an annual capacity of 1,200,000 tons of steel and a large oxygen station. As a result, in the coming seven years the works' steel output will increase by 48 per cent instead of the originally planned 17 per cent.

Comrade Lomako, chairman of the Krasnoyarsk Economic Council, Comrade Kokarev, secretary of the Krasnoyarsk territorial Party committee, and Comrade Zubkov, head of the Krasnoyarsk comprehensive expedition organised by the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science's Council for the study of productive forces, tabled a proposal that the rich Angara-pit iron-ore basin should be developed in the next seven years. The iron-ore deposits of this basin are at a suitable depth for opencast mining, which is the most economical method. Besides, this deposit will require smaller capital investments than other deposits.

According to their estimates, the cost per ton of its raw ore will be lower than the cost of the ore in Khakassia, Kemerovo region and the Altai territory, which is earmarked for the West-Siberian iron and steel works now under construction; while the pig-iron smelted from Angara-pit ore will be the cheapest in the country.

The proposal of the Krasnoyarsk comrades is extremely interesting. The State planning committee of the U.S.S.R. has been instructed to look into the advantages of hastening the development of the iron-ore deposits in Krasnoyarsk territory, and to report to the Government.

Comrade Kunayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh S.S.R., and other comrades from that republic suggested solving Central Kazakhstan's water supply problem by building the Irtysh-Karaganda canal, 450 kilometres* in length. This merits serious attention and the State planning committee of the U.S.S.R., jointly with the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan, must closely examine it, estimate the cost of this project and give their views.

An interesting question was raised by Prof. V. Uvarov in an article published in *Pravda*. Citing facts to show the great efficiency of gas turbines in various branches of the national economy, he speaks of the necessity of speeding up designing and of organising the production of powerful gas turbines for large thermal electric stations and gas turbine installations for railway transport, gas pipelines and other purposes.

A large number of very interesting questions raised during the discussion touch upon the engineering, iron and steel, fuel, chemicals, light and food industries, land cultivation, animal-breeding and other branches of the national economy.

The State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. and other central bodies must give careful consideration to all these proposals, determine their economic use, and apply all that is useful in them in the final working out of the Seven-Year Plan.

The second group of proposals concerns questions of a local character. They can, and must, be implemented by local bodies. Many suggestions have been made by the working people concerning the organisation and technology of production at undertakings, the utilisation of machinery, and the more economic expenditure of raw materials. They criticised shortcomings and made concrete proposals aimed at improving the work of factories, construction sites and collective and State farms.

The number of useful suggestions was very large. The task of local bodies is to examine these suggestions closely and to plan how all that is useful in them can be most speedily implemented.

The third group consists of suggestions about the construction of mines, factories, plants and other enterprises not provided for by the target figures. Most suggestions of this kind are correct in principle, but they cannot be carried out in the coming seven years as that would require additional large capital investments. However, the State planning committee of the U.S.S.R., the State planning committees of the union republics, and the economic councils and local bodies must examine all these suggestions and take them into account when they draw up their long-term plans going beyond the bounds of the Seven-Year Plan.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the central committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., to express deep satisfaction with the nation-wide discussion of the theses of the report of the target figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. for

*One kilometre=0.62 miles.—Ed.

1959-65, and to convey thanks to all the comrades who took part in it. It has yielded extremely abundant material which will help to make specific a number of the projects of the Seven-Year Plan, and to work out subsequent long-term economic development plans.

Development of Socialist Industry and Transport

Comrades, the target figures envisage a high rate of development and a large over-all increase in production in all spheres of industry, particularly in heavy industry.

You see, just as we began speaking about heavy industry, the sun came out. It's quite symbolic: as if nature is greeting our achievements. The sun lights up the road for our Seven-Year Plan.

Let foreign journalists present here take a note of it.

It is planned that in 1965 gross industrial output should be about 80 per cent above that of 1958.

In group A (output of means of production) there is to be an increase of 85-88 per cent and in group B (output of consumer goods) 62-65 per cent.

This is a very big increase. The growth of the volume of industrial output in the next seven years will be equal to the increase in output achieved in the past 20 years.

The theses gave detailed figures for the Seven-Year Plan. Allow me to dwell only on the basic trends in the development of the key industries and on their qualitative changes.

The ferrous and non-ferrous metals industry must be mentioned first. The 1965 target is to produce up to 65-70 million tons of pig-iron, up to 86-91 million tons of steel and up to 65-70 million tons of rolled stock. The output of non-ferrous and rare metals is to rise several-fold.

A larger sum of money than was spent in the past 30 years has been earmarked for the construction and reconstruction of ferrous and non-ferrous metals enterprises. No less than 67 per cent of the capital investments in the iron and steel industry and about 60 per cent of the appropriations for the non-ferrous industry will be used to extend or reconstruct existing enterprises which must produce more than three-quarters of the planned increase in pig-iron, steel and rolled stock. The Magnitogorsk iron and steel works alone will step up its output of rolled stock from 5,200,000 to 8,500,000 tons a year by 1965.

This is the most advantageous way of using money. For example, in building the Karaganda iron and steel works, the capital investments per ton of pig iron will amount to 2,347 roubles, whilst the extension of the Magnitogorsk Plant involves an outlay of 1,947 roubles per ton.

At the new or reconstructed iron and steel plants, the unit capacity of the machinery will be considerably increased. Provision is made for the construction of the world's biggest blast-furnaces with a volume of 2,000 and 2,286 cubic metres*, open-hearth furnaces with a capacity exceeding 500 tons, 80-ton and 180-ton electric furnaces, continuous auto-

*One cubic metre=35.3 c.ft.—Ed.

mated rolling mills with an annual capacity of 3-4 million tons, and other units.

New, highly effective technological processes will be widely used in the next seven years. For example, more than 50 blast-furnaces and a large number of open-hearth and heating furnaces will go over to a new technology, in which natural gas and oxygen will be utilised.

Oxygen will be used on a considerably larger scale in the nickel, copper, lead, and zinc industries. This will enable the productivity of blast-furnaces to be increased by 8-10 per cent and of open-hearth furnaces by 20-30 per cent. The quality of the output will be improved by greater utilisation of vacuum installations in metallurgical processes, thermal treatment of steel rolled stock and other means.

The speed with which the national economy is expanding will bring about changes in the structure of the metallurgical industry.

The development of power engineering, and the chemical, oil and gas industries will require an increase in the output of steel tubing. For this reason, while there will be a total increase of 53-63 per cent in the output of rolled stock in the next seven years, the output of tubing will increase by more than 100 per cent and the production of sheet steel will be substantially extended.

In order to raise the technical level of the engineering industry, to promote automation and, correspondingly, to increase the output of special steels and alloys, the electro-metallurgical and ferro-alloy industries and the output of a number of non-ferrous and rare metals will be considerably expanded, primarily through the comprehensive processing of ores.

Lately aluminium has been acquiring increasing importance as a metal that is finding many-sided uses in industry and construction. For that reason, the aluminium output will be increased by 2.8-3 times in the next seven years. We have the power resources and the raw materials to ensure such a growth. The output of copper will also be almost doubled.

An extremely important factor making for the growth of the metallurgical industry will be the acceleration of the development of ore mining.

The output of iron ore is to be increased by approximately 100 per cent and that will make our country the biggest iron ore producer in the world.

A rise in the content of iron in marketable ores will be achieved by building big ore concentrating plants and by the introduction of improved methods of dressing and roasting. New iron-ore deposits will be developed, chiefly by open-cast mining, especially in Kazakhstan and in the region of the Kursk magnetic anomaly.

In the coming seven years special importance will be attached to the *chemical industry*. An extensive programme for the accelerated development of this key branch of heavy industry was mapped out by the plenary meeting of the central committee held in May 1958.

The development of the chemical industry makes possible the most effective use of the country's natural wealth and is a necessary condition for further technical progress in every branch of the national economy.

Plastics and other synthetic materials will find wide application in engineering, construction and other industries.

The chemical industry will put out expensive, high-grade raw materials for the manufacture of consumer goods and, with considerably smaller labour costs, it will produce qualitatively new materials with properties superior to those of natural materials.

The total output of chemical products must increase almost three times over in the next seven years, while the output of artificial fibres will grow nearly four times over, and that of plastics and tars more than seven times over.

Special mention must be made of the output of mineral fertilisers. In 1965 this output will rise to 35 million tons as against 12 million tons in 1958.

This is imperative for the accomplishment of the prime task of raising the yields of all crops.

The chemical industry will develop on an absolutely new basis, utilising the cheapest raw material (natural gas and the gas from oil refineries), and applying modern technological processes and high-efficiency equipment. This will allow for a large cut in the expenses involved in building chemical factories and for a reduction in costs.

In the fuel industry we have adopted the line of giving priority in the development of oil and gas extraction and refining. In 1965, the production of oil will rise to 230-240 million tons, or more than twofold, and the output of gas will increase approximately five times, reaching 150,000 million cubic metres per year. The share of oil and gas in the total output of fuel will grow from 31 to 51 per cent, while that of coal will correspondingly decrease from 60 to 43 per cent.

This trend in the fuel industry will yield great economic benefit. To meet the fuel requirements of the Urals, for example, the plan calls for the building of gas pipelines from Uzbekistan, the Komi Autonomous Republic and the Volga area. By the close of the seven-year period, the Urals will be consuming 25,000 to 27,000 million cubic metres of gas a year. As a result, the Urals' need for coal for industry from distant basins will diminish by more than half. By using gas, the Urals industry will save about 1,400 million roubles in 1965.

Here is another example. At present, Moscow consumes 4,000 million cubic metres of gas and about six million tons of coal annually. Toward the end of the seven-year period, the supply of gas to the capital will be raised to over 13,000 million cubic metres, while coal consumption will fall to 700,000 tons a year, with a resultant saving of about 5,000 million roubles over this period.

The replacement of coal by natural gas and oil will save the country more than 125,000 million roubles in seven years, or as much as is allocated for the construction of all the power stations and power and heat grids.

Extensive work will have to be done in the oil and gas industry to develop new fuel deposits and to build oil and gas trunk pipelines, oil refineries and petrol-gas plants.

While developing the oil and gas industry we must not lose sight of the coal industry. Although the rate of growth in coal production will be much slower than in the preceding seven years, output will, nevertheless, rise 21 to 23 per cent, mainly by increasing the extraction of coking coals

in the Donbas, Kuzbas and Karaganda basins and also the cheap industrial coals in the eastern areas.

The urgent task in the coal industry is to raise labour productivity and reduce costs. Attention must be paid to the further development of open-cast and hydraulic methods of coal extraction and to the reconstruction of collieries, especially in the Donbas.

Electrification of the national economy is, as you all know, the basis of all technical progress and greater technical facility per worker, and its rapid promotion has always been regarded by our Party as a key task.

Today we are entering the decisive stage of implementing the great Lenin's idea of the complete electrification of our country.

Toward the close of the coming seven-year period, electric power output must rise to 500,000-520,000 million kwh a year, while the rated capacity of the power stations will be more than doubled. With an 80 per cent rise in industrial output, power consumption by industry will increase 120 per cent, and electric power per worker will nearly double.

In what way do we intend to develop the power industry so as to carry out the electrification programme in a short period, and with the least expense?

When a power station is built, the power resources should be chosen on the basis of technical and economic calculations that take into account the concrete production and transport conditions in the given area, the cost and the schedule of construction, the saving of capital investments per unit of capacity, and the saving in running the station.

To win time, and to use capital investments most effectively, the Seven-Year Plan calls for the priority construction of thermal-power stations operating on natural gas, mazout (crude oil) and low-grade coals. If we were to maintain the present ratio between the capital investments in thermal and hydro-electric stations we would either have to cut the power capacities planned to be put into operation, or to increase capital investments for our power programme by more than 20,000 million roubles.

Parallel with putting into operation thermal power stations, provision is made for the construction of hydro-electric stations: Bratsk, with a capacity of 3,600,000 kw; Stalingrad, 2,530,000 kw; Kramoyarsk, 4,200,000 kw; Kremenchug, 625,000 kw; Bukhtarma, 525,000 kw; Votkinsk, 1,000,000 kw; and several others.

The building of large power stations gives rise to the necessity of extending the power grids. To give all the regions a stable supply of electric power and to make rational use of power capacities, the Seven-Year Plan envisages the further unification of power stations into large power systems with a view to establishing a single power system in the Soviet Union.

Several nuclear-power stations with different kinds of reactors will be brought into operation.

Speaking of the prospects of developing the key industries and electrifying the national economy, we must dwell on the *engineering industry*, which, as in previous years, will continue to expand rapidly.

Under the Seven-Year Plan, all modern branches of the engineering industry, primarily heavy machine-building, instrument-making and the production of automatic and electronic devices, will develop at an accelerated pace. Special attention is being paid to the designing and production of new machines, utilising the achievements and discoveries of science and engineering, particularly radio-electronics, semi-conductors, ultra-sound, and radio-active isotopes.

More than 50 powerful, high-capacity rolling mills, extensively incorporating in their designs the principle of continuous-rolling and automation, will be built for the iron and steel industry and put into operation. One of the primary tasks is to develop a wide range of up-to-date equipment for the chemical industry.

To accomplish the far-reaching tasks facing the engineering industry, we must re-equip all the engineering factories by replacing or modernising obsolete machine-tools, forges, presses and foundry machines in the immediate future. Machine-tool plants must sharply increase their output of the latest kinds of special and aggregate machine-tools, machine-tools with pre-set programme control, stamping and caulking presses, forging machines, automatic forge presses and automatic and semi-automatic machine-tool lines.

Careful attention must be given to the further development of the electrical engineering industry as the major technical basis of the country's electrification. We must raise the technical level and quality of electric machines, cables and electric insulating materials and take steps to speed up the expansion of capacities in the electrical engineering industry.

As was pointed out in the theses, the *timber, paper and woodworking industry* will be further expanded.

The high level attained by heavy industry and realisation of the measures to promote agriculture will allow us to bring about a substantial increase in the *output of foodstuffs and consumer goods*.

In the course of the next seven years, gross output of the light industry will grow by approximately 50 per cent and of the food industry by 70 per cent.

The production of cotton fabrics will rise 33 to 38 per cent, woollen fabrics 65 per cent, silks 76 per cent, leather footwear 45 per cent, meat 110 per cent, butter 58 per cent, milk 120 per cent, sugar 76 to 90 per cent and fish 60 per cent.

Besides increasing output, the light and food industries must considerably extend the assortment and improve the quality of their products — a task now being moved into the foreground.

Consumer goods must be of good quality, handsomely finished and neatly packed, while foodstuffs must be packaged. More than 1,600 food and light industry factories will be built to cope with the assignments for producing more and better consumer goods and foodstuffs. Moreover, a large number of existing factories will be reconstructed.

A considerable part of the agricultural raw materials is to be processed at non-State enterprises. For this purpose collective and State farms and consumers' Co-operatives will have to build bakeries, and factories producing sausages and half-finished meat products, butter, cheese, cottage cheese, vegetable and fruit preserves, starch and other foods.

With the marketable output and incomes of the collective farms growing, the practice should be extended of several collective farms pooling their resources to build bigger and better-equipped inter-collective farm canneries, bakeries, sausage and other factories.

Fish are an important source for increasing the country's food resources. Alongside the further development of fishing in the open sea, judicious use must be made of the inland reservoirs, from which at least six to eight million centners* of fish could be obtained annually.

Special mention should be made of sugar production. As you remember, at the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. the task was set of increasing the annual sugar production up to nine to ten million tons by 1972.

A closer examination of our possibilities and the initiative shown by agricultural workers in raising the output of sugar-beet have prompted the central committee and the Government to revise this target. The task being set now is to increase the output of sugar to ten million tons not later than 1965, i.e. seven years earlier.

The *per capita* sugar output will rise from the present level of 26 kg to 41-44 kg in 1965.

The planned growth in the output of sugar will enable us not only to improve the supply to the population but also to increase budget revenues and to compensate for the reduction in the income from the sale of alcoholic beverages. In 1958, 113 million litres less of alcoholic beverages were bought by the population than in 1957, and still less will undoubtedly be bought in the future as a result of further cultural advance and greater educational work.

Elimination of a survival of the past, like hard drinking, will help to improve the people's health and strengthen family life and improve standards of behaviour in public. This will benefit both the State and the people, who will consume more sweets and less bitters.

Parallel with large-scale development of the light industry, the Seven-Year Plan envisages doubling the output of household goods, machines and appliances at engineering plants and woodworking factories, as well as in consumer goods departments in other industries.

The rapid growth of the national economy will require a big increase in the transport of goods. In 1965 the goods turnover of the railways will be 39 to 43 per cent higher than in 1958. There will be a fundamental technical reconstruction of the basic methods of transport, particularly the railways, where steam engines will be replaced by economic electric and diesel locomotives.

All the trunk lines, totalling nearly 100,000 km in length, will be switched over to electric and diesel traction toward the end of the coming seven-year period. The traffic capacity of these lines will be nearly doubled. In seven years the introduction of electric and diesel locomotives will save approximately 400 million tons of coal and cut operational costs by 45,000 million roubles.

Furthermore, all other methods of transport will also be promoted and the transport of goods by river, sea, air, road and pipeline will be increased. The construction of motor roads will be extended. All State

*Ten metric centners=1 ton.—Ed.

motor roads will be built with a durable cement and concrete surface. Collective and State farms and industrial transport, building and other enterprises and economic organisations must be widely drawn into the construction of local roads.

It is planned to provide the national economy and the urban and rural population with all the means of communication they need. The laying of radio-relay and cable lines will be pushed ahead at a rapid rate. The network of radio and television broadcasting stations will be considerably enlarged.

Comrades, the seven-year targets can only be achieved on the basis of a broad application of new techniques, *comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes and specialisation and co-ordination in all branches of the national economy.*

The Seven-Year Plan calls for the elimination of arduous manual labour by completing the comprehensive mechanisation of production processes in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, in loading and unloading work, and in public utilities. The output of the machines needed for this must be sharply increased in the immediate future.

Comprehensive mechanisation will be accompanied by broad automation, which must fundamentally lighten and improve working conditions and sharply raise labour productivity.

In Socialist society, automation has not only economic but also great social significance. It radically changes the character of labour, raises the cultural and technical level of workers and creates the conditions for obliterating the difference between mental and manual labour. Man's role is confined to controlling automatic machines and instruments, setting them, and working out the programmes and organisation of technological processes.

Our country has already scored some successes in this field. For example, we have built completely automated hydro-electric stations and departments at engineering and iron and steel works, and have automated certain chemical processes.

However, it must be said that automation is not yet widespread. To cope with this task the highly specialised mass production of modern automation devices must be organised over the next few years, so as to achieve comprehensive automation in all branches of the national economy in the future.

The transition to the overall automation of departments and whole undertakings must take place at once in some industries such as the chemical, oil-refining and food industries, at power stations, at blast furnaces, in open-hearth and rolling-mill departments, and in several branches of the engineering industry.

To improve specialisation and co-ordination of industries and enterprises, the Seven-Year Plan provides for further concentration of the output of products of the same type at a minimum number of plants.

Specialisation of the output of metalware, blast-furnace and steel-smelting equipment, as well as the output of castings, forgings, stampings and other semi-finished products of the engineering industry will be further developed on a large scale. In this way, we shall be able to

achieve a considerable increase in the output of turbines, generators, steam boilers, tractors and other machines without building new plants.

Such are the principal indices showing the development of industry and transport over the next seven years. As you see, comrades, the tasks are enormous.

There is much to be done to consolidate the industrial might of the Soviet State still further and to raise industry to a much higher technical level. There can be no doubt that displaying creative initiative and developing Socialist emulation on a still broader scale, the heroic working class and the scientists, technicians and engineers will successfully reach and surpass the targets of the Seven-Year Plan.

Development of Socialist Agriculture

Comrades, a further steep rise in Socialist agriculture will be a tremendous contribution toward Communist construction and the people's standard of living.

As stated in the decision of the December plenary meeting of the central committee, the principal target in agriculture during the next seven years is to reach a level of production which will enable us to *satisfy to the full the food requirements of the population and the raw material requirements of industry and to meet all of the State's other demands for agricultural produce.*

In 1959-65, the gross output of agriculture will rise by 70 per cent. The average annual increase in output will amount to 8 per cent. It may be noted that in the U.S., the average rate of growth in agricultural output was less than 2 per cent. in the past seven years.

Output of various products is to be brought up as follows by 1965:

Grain: to 10,000-11,000 million poods (164-180 million tons) against 8,500 million poods in 1958.

Cotton: to 5,700,000-6,100,000 tons, or 30-39 per cent more than in 1958.

Sugar-beet: to 76-84 million tons, or 40-55 per cent more than in 1958.

Oil-bearing seeds: to 5,500,000 tons, or 10 per cent more than in 1958.

Flax fibre: to 580,000 tons, or 31 per cent more than in 1958.

Potatoes: to 147 million tons, against 86 million tons in 1958.

Other vegetables: in quantities fully meeting the requirements of the population.

Hard and soft fruits: at least 100 per cent more. Grapes: at least 300 per cent more than in 1958.

Meat (deadweight): not less than to 16 million tons, or 100 per cent more than in 1958.

Milk: to 100-105 million tons, or 70-80 per cent more than in 1958.

Wool: approximately to 548,000 tons, or 70 per cent more than in 1958.

Eggs: to 37,000 million, or 60 per cent more than in 1958.

For the next few years the main line in crop farming will continue to be the utmost expansion of grain growing as the basis of all agricultural production.

In recent years, the grain output was increased chiefly by extending the crop areas. We shall continue to develop new land, but the scale will be smaller than hitherto and it will not bring about a large increase in the gross grain yield, as considerable areas will be sown to industrial crops or allowed to lie fallow.

Today, when the collective and State farms have skilled personnel and modern machinery, they are in a position to do all agricultural work efficiently and, in time, to use more organic and mineral fertilisers and to sow selected seed.

In other words, there is every requisite for *increasing the yield of grain crops by an average of three to four centners per hectare* throughout the country and thereby reaching and surpassing the target figure for the gross grain output.

In animal husbandry, the chief task in the coming seven years is to expand the output of meat, milk, wool and eggs. This must be achieved through a sharp increase in the number of all kinds of live-stock, poultry and rabbits at collective and State farms, and by raising the productivity of animal husbandry.

Fodder resources must be increased even more persistently than before, mainly by cultivating more maize, potatoes and sugar beet, and growing protein feeds such as clover, alfalfa, vetch-and-oats, peas, lupin and other crops, depending on the features of the given zone.

We must get down to the serious growing of soya beans, which are extremely valuable as a food, industrial and fodder crop.

Our country has advanced to first place in the world in total output of milk and butter.

Within the next few years we shall not only overtake but considerably surpass the United States of America in the *per capita* output of these products. At the same time much work will have to be done to utilise all potentialities and possibilities so as to increase meat production two and a half to three times over, to improve on the Seven-Year Plan assignment considerably and implement the call of the country's leading collective and State farms to overtake the United States in *per capita* output of livestock products.

High rates of growth in agricultural production such as these are based on the tremendous advantages of the Socialist system of economy, and the increased might of our industry, which is supplying all the necessary material and technical facilities for large-scale, mechanised agriculture.

Within the next seven years, agriculture must be supplied with more than a million tractors, about 400,000 grain combines, numerous other machines and a large quantity of equipment. Electric power capacities at the disposal of collective and State farms will be almost doubled.

The electrification of all collective farms will be completed in the main by 1965, while the electrification of the State farms will be completed much earlier.

Almost four times more electric power will be consumed in the countryside and that will help to cut down the cost of agricultural produce by more than 19,000 million roubles and to take another stride forward in

further raising the standard of living and cultural life of the collective farm villages.

One of the most important tasks in agriculture is to raise labour productivity and reduce the cost of agricultural produce. We must ensure a considerable growth in total output side by side with a sharp reduction in the outlay of labour and money.

Today, when the collective farms have grown strong, are technically better equipped and have trained personnel, all the conditions are on hand for sharply raising labour productivity and cutting costs in the course of the next seven years.

Our engineering industry will continue to supply agriculture with better machines than before and that will enable the collective and State farms to produce more with less expenditure of labour and money. For this purpose we must speed up the design and manufacture of machines and combines which will completely mechanise the cultivation of cotton, sugar beet, vegetables—including potatoes—and other crops.

We must do away with the lag in the mechanisation of labour-consuming work in animal husbandry, considerably expand transport facilities, and produce powerful haulage machines, fast tractors and various types of trailers and tip lorries.

The time has come to solve the problem of producing mixed feeds by building State and inter-collective farm mixed-feed factories. We must put out more land-reclamation machinery, equipment for mechanising loading and unloading work, and machines for the extraction of peat, lime and other local fertilisers.

At the same time, the machines and tractors at the collective and State farms must be used more efficiently. The output of spare parts must be increased to satisfy the demand of the collective and State farms, and the quality of machine repairs must be improved in every possible way.

Comrades, the discussion of agricultural problems at the December plenary meeting of the central committee, with the participation of collective farm chairmen, State farm managers, machine operators, experts and scientists and leading personnel of Party and local Government bodies, showed with striking clarity that each republic, territory, region and district, each collective and State farm has every opportunity to increase the output of agricultural products.

The resolution of the December plenary meeting of the central committee was widely discussed at plenary meetings of the central committees of the Communist Parties of the union republics, of territorial and regional Party committees, and at meetings of the Party and farming *active* where the adopted decisions were approved; and, moreover, on the basis of calculations and an account of available potentialities, commitments were undertaken especially to increase the output of livestock products.

At the discussions on the plenary meeting's decisions, collective farmers, State farm workers and agricultural experts are bringing to light potentialities which, if they are ably utilised, will help to achieve and surpass the targets for grain, meat and other products both as regards time and tonnage.

We already have the first signs telling us that the summer will be fine. For example, the collective and State farms of Ryazan region have already pledged that this year they will produce 3.8 times as much meat as in 1958, while Stavropol territory and Rostov region have committed themselves to step up their meat output 2.5 and two times respectively.

Throughout Moscow region the commitment for 1959 is to increase meat output to 70 centners per 100 hectares of farmland and sell the State twice as much meat as in 1958.

Krasnodar territory has undertaken to produce 84 centners of meat per 100 hectares of farmland this year and to increase the output of meat in the collective and State farms by more than 150 per cent.

Concrete measures aimed at sharply increasing the output of agricultural produce within the next few years were mapped out by the congresses of the Communist Parties of the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Kazakhstan and other republics and the territorial and regional party conferences when they discussed the target figures and the decisions of the December plenary meeting of the central committee.

The congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine enthusiastically backed up the initiative of the republic's leading collective and State farms and regions to bring up the output of meat (dead weight) to at least 100 centners per 100 hectares of farmland in the next five years and thereby make a noteworthy contribution in response to the call of the some of the leading collective farms to overtake the U.S.A. in meat output. The congress of the Communist Party of Byelorussia adopted a decision to double meat output at the collective and State farms this year.

We may rest assured that the people making such pledges know how to count and to keep their word. The duty of Party organisations is to rally the people to work for the set targets.

I must stress that the pledges to increase output several-fold by no means reflect all our potentialities. The contribution of each republic, territory, region, district, and collective and State farm to the effort to implement the call issued by leading collective and State farms to overtake the U.S.A. in the output of meat and other agricultural produce must be evaluated in terms of production per 100 hectares of farmland.

The decisive condition for utilising the potentialities for a further advance in all branches of agriculture is able selection and correct placing of personnel, primarily collective farm chairmen, State farm managers, team leaders, and managers of livestock departments, who are capable of rallying and organising the people and leading them.

Collective and State farms, teams and livestock departments are at present working out definite plans for increasing the output of agricultural produce in 1959-65. The Communist Party has always regarded the elaboration of plans as the creative endeavour of the people. The collective and State farms must be helped to work out plans which would take full account of all the potentialities for a further rise of socialised economy and an increase in agricultural production.

We may be sure that our glorious collective farm peasantry, State farmworkers and experts will make every effort not only to fulfil but also to overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan in agriculture.

Capital Construction and Distribution of the Productive Forces

Comrades, capital investments in new buildings and the reconstruction of enterprises are the basis for the high rates of extended Socialist reproduction.

In the next seven years, State capital investments will be close to 2,000,000 million roubles. If we add to this the construction financed from non-centralised funds, including the capital investments of the collective farms and also housing construction by the people themselves, the total capital investments will run into 3,000,000 million roubles.

This means that in seven years nearly as much money will be invested as in all preceding Soviet years.

Capital construction in industry will proceed at a high rate. With capital investments in the national economy as a whole rising by 80 per cent, investments in industry will approximately double as compared with the preceding seven years.

Capital investments in separate industries, in the building industry, and in transport, are shown by the following data (in 1,000 million roubles in comparable prices.)

	1952-58	1959-65	1959-65 in per centages of 1952- 58
Iron and steel industry	40.8	100	245
Chemical industry	19.9	100-105	502-528
Oil and gas industry	72.2	170-173	235-240
Coal industry	61.2	75-78	122-127
Power stations, electric grids and heating systems	75.1	125-129	166-172
Engineering industry	65.5	118	180
Timber, paper and wood working industry	25.3	58-60	229-237
Light and food industries ...	40	80-85	200-212
Building industry and building materials industry	61.5	110-112	179-182
Transport and communications	107.4	209-214	195-199
Of which, rail transport ...	59.3	110-115	185-194

Investments in agriculture by the State and by the collective farms will amount to about 500,000 million roubles, i.e., nearly double the investments in the preceding seven years.

The plan calls for a radical reconstruction, expansion and technical reconditioning of existing establishments, renewal and modernisation of equipment, which in many cases will make it possible to expand production faster and with considerably smaller outlays of money and material than by building new plants.

To make fuller use of the natural resources of the eastern areas it is envisaged to channel over 40 per cent of all capital investments into these areas in the next seven years.

Huge funds are allocated to build houses, cultural institutions and establishments providing general amenities.

From 375,000 million to 380,000 million roubles of State funds alone will be invested in housing and public building as against 214,000 million roubles in the preceding seven years. More than 80,000 million roubles will go to the building of schools, hospitals and other cultural and medical establishments as against 46,000 million roubles. Large funds will be invested in the building of boarding schools and child welfare establishments.

To cope successfully with the planned volume of capital development in all branches of the economy we must ensure the further extensive application of industrial methods to building, to convert building work into a mechanised process of assembling and erecting buildings and structures from large precast blocks, parts and elements.

To expedite the changeover to industrial methods of building it is necessary to introduce widely such highly efficient processes as making reinforced concrete panels by a laminating process or by vertical casting in special static moulds. Houses assembled from large panels offer undoubted advantages. Two-thirds less labour outlay per thousand square metres of floor space is required to produce structural elements in building large-panel houses assembled from parts cast in static moulds, as compared with houses having brick walls. In construction the labour expended is cut by half.

It is important to note that the expenditure of cement in large-panel houses does not exceed the amount of cement needed for houses with brick walls, while the expenditure of metal is even somewhat smaller. Houses assembled from such panels are 50 per cent lighter than brick houses.

Extensive construction of large-panel houses not only yields fine technical and economic results in the building of dwellings, but also cuts by half the outlay involved in setting up production facilities.

Full use of the advantages offered by large-panel building can be made only when parts are prefabricated on a large scale at plants, and when the continuous flow method is utilised at building sites.

That is why the plan calls for bringing the annual volume of large-panel housing construction up to 25 million square metres* of floor space in 1965.

At present the building materials industry is continuing the testing of equipment, putting the final touches to technological processes, experimenting with and projecting various rolling methods for the production of pre-stressed thin-wall panels. The use of such panels makes it possible to apply large-panel structural elements in industrial hydro-electric engineering, and other building work, where large bays and loads are required.

Together with an increase in the production of reinforced concrete elements, it is necessary to introduce widely the most economical pre-

*One square metre—10.76 square feet.—Ed.

stressed and thin-wall structural elements and also articles made from light concrete. Such elements take from 40 to 50 per cent less metal and cut the weight of buildings considerably. The use of asbestos-cement elements and parts is also a highly advanced method in building.

Large-scale development of reinforced concrete production and the precasting of new building parts from it, and the availability of powerful hoisting facilities now make it possible to solve the problem of roof design in an entirely new way, i.e., to stop the present practice of using special roofing and combine the roof with the reinforced concrete ceiling. This has already been tested in practice and quite a few houses now have a combined ceiling and roof.

New methods of building roofs, which allow for the saving of metal and the elimination of repairs, should be introduced more widely.

Perhaps it will be necessary to adopt a special decision in which the dates for carrying out this measure ought to be stipulated, having in view the need to compel conservative-minded people, at long last, to work in a new way.

Further industrialisation of construction demands a great increase in the output of cement and an improvement in its quality.

In the next seven years, cement production will grow by about 50 million tons, which is almost the present output level in the United States. The plan also provides for stepping up the production of other building materials, particularly heat-insulating materials, articles and materials made from plastics and synthetic resins, and of health equipment.

To satisfy the need for building materials and structural elements, first the building and the building materials industries must be developed.

The erroneous practice of setting up what are frequently primitive construction facilities at each building site must be stopped, and a system of building establishments on a scale to satisfy the needs of an economic area of a locality, where construction is concentrated, must be organised.

The merging of small building organisations and their further specialisation should be continued, as that will permit the acceleration of construction and the cutting of costs.

Costs and the quality of building and assembly work are still problems of prime importance. The plan provides for reducing the cost of building as a whole by not less than 6 per cent in the next seven years and by 14 per cent in housing as compared with 1958.

An end should be put, comrades, to the harmful system of diffusing funds over numerous construction projects. Capital investments and material and labour resources should be concentrated on the major projects and on projects scheduled for early operation.

We must not begin new construction projects without sufficient preparation, complete designs, the necessary building facilities, and other conditions guaranteeing rapid building.

It is very important for our planning and economic bodies to be careful and thrifty when making investments in the national economy.

The unparalleled scale of construction over the next seven years demands special attention to the *distribution of the productive forces*.

The 20th Congress of the Party pointed to the need for energetically

enlisting into the country's economy the huge raw material and power resources of the eastern areas.

This directive is being successfully put into practice. The country's third iron and steel centre is being built in Siberia and Kazakhstan, and the world's largest hydro-electric stations are going up on the Angara and the Yenisei. The successes in developing virgin and unused land are being consolidated.

The target figures call for another step forward in accomplishing these tasks. In 1965, the share of the eastern areas in the output of coal will rise to 50 per cent, steel 48 per cent, refined copper 88 per cent, aluminium 71 per cent, cement 42 per cent, electric power 46 per cent and paper 32 per cent, while the amount of timber brought from the lumber camps will increase to 52 per cent.

The chemical, oil-refining and non-ferrous metals industries are being developed.

The gigantic scale of the new development will bring about notable changes in the economic map of the eastern areas. The building up of large industrial areas—Kustanai, Pavlodar-Ekibastuz, Achinsk-Krasnoyarsk, Bratsk-Taishet and others—will give great impetus to the development of the productive forces in the Soviet East.

The creation of a new grain-growing centre in the East has made it possible to start a radical reconstruction of agriculture in a number of republics and regions, and to make more rational use of the rich natural and economic resources for expanding the output of field crops and live-stock products.

While formerly we had, for example, to procure grain throughout the country, we now have the possibility of ceasing grain procurements in the north-west regions of the Russian Federation, the Baltic Republics and in many districts of Byelorussia and the Ukrainian part of Polesye. These regions will now specialise in milk, bacon and industrial crops, for which they have very favourable conditions.

Of course, in future, when these regions receive mineral fertilisers in the quantities necessary for grain crops, and raise the yield and increase grain production, grain will be even cheaper there than in other regions and republics. It will then be advantageous to purchase grain in these regions as well.

We are now able to reduce and, as grain production expands in other areas, subsequently to dispense completely with grain purchases in the Transcaucasian and Central Asian Republics, so as to develop there at a much faster pace such valuable crops as cotton, tea, tobacco, grapes, fruit (including citrus) and so forth.

The Ukraine, the Northern Caucasus and the black earth regions have been the main granary of our country for a long time. Now, by somewhat reducing grain cultivation, they have had the opportunity of developing specialised collective farms and State farms in livestock farming and the production of industrial crops, sugar-beet in particular.

While developing the productive forces of our country's eastern areas to the utmost, we must utilise to the full the potentialities for increasing production in the European part of the U.S.S.R. Here special emphasis is laid on the better use and expansion of capacities at operating indus-

trial establishments, better use of the land, the tapping of reserves, the development of specialisation of areas and the rationalisation of economic ties.

The raw material and power resources of the European part of the Soviet Union will be considerably reinforced in the coming seven years. Very rich oil and gas deposits make it possible to change the fuel pattern and stop the delivery of Kuzbas and Karaganda coal, which is hauled over thousands of kilometres.

A powerful organic chemicals industry, using oil and gas as raw materials, will be built in many regions, especially in the Volga area. An oil-refining industry is growing in all the main economic areas of the European part of the U.S.S.R.

It is planned to make extensive use of the iron ores of the Kursk magnetic anomaly and the Krivoi Rog basin for the further development of the iron and steel industry in the central and southern areas. The water power resources of the Volga, Dnieper and other rivers will be utilised to a much greater extent in view of the putting into operation of the Stalingrad, Kremenchug and other hydro-electric stations.

It is also intended to make fuller use of natural and labour resources in agriculture by improving specialisation of agricultural production by zones, by more intensive farming and by substantial increases in the yields of all crops and in the productivity of livestock farming.

Big suburban farms will be set up near large industrial centres to supply vegetables, dairy and other products to the population of these centres.

The tasks of the country's development in the coming seven years make imperative an improvement in national economic planning. Our planning must envisage the further specialisation and integrated economic development of republics and large economic areas.

The establishment of economic administrative areas has made for more rational economic ties, both within the areas themselves and between the areas, and has had a substantial economic effect in the country.

But there is also a wrong, narrow local conception of an integrated economy as a closed-in economy. Such tendencies, directed against the interests of the State, must be combated energetically.

The Soviet Union is a multi-national Socialist State, founded on the friendship of peoples enjoying equal rights, united by a common will and striving to march steadfastly forward along the path of Communist construction.

The Leninist national policy, which ensures broad opportunities for the all-round economic and cultural progress of all the peoples, is strikingly expressed in our plans. This is also confirmed once again in the target figures for our economic development over 1959-65, which provide for a huge economic growth of all the Soviet Republics.

Each republic will first develop the branches for which it has the most favourable natural and economic conditions.

The theses on the target figures gave the main indices of economic development in all the Union republics. They have been fully supported and approved by the working people of these republics.

The Seven-Year Plan provides, on the one hand, for the most efficient use of the resources of each republic and, on the other, ensures the proper

combination of the interests of the separate republics and the Soviet Union as a whole.

The plan calls for strengthening inter-republican economic ties and extending the Socialist division of labour. The community of Socialist nations is the source of the growing force and might of the multinational Socialist State. Our Party, educating the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, has always waged an implacable struggle both against Great-Power chauvinism and against local nationalism.

The task is to develop still wider the education of the working people, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism. The Communist Party sees its sacred duty in tirelessly strengthening the friendship of the peoples, which is the cornerstone of the Soviet Union's might and invincible strength.

Comrades, the fulfilment of the industrial, agricultural and transport plans, and the fulfilment of the building programme in the next seven years will only be possible if there is a considerable rise in the level of technology and higher *productivity of social labour* — the prime source of extended Socialist reproduction and accumulation, the basis for an advance in living standards.

In the seven-year period, labour productivity per worker should rise 45 to 50 per cent in industry, 60 to 65 per cent in construction, 34 to 37 per cent in railway transport, and 60 to 65 per cent in State farms, and it should approximately double in the collective farms. In view of the reduction of the working day, hourly output will rise even more. In 1965, higher labour productivity will account for three-quarters of the increase in industrial output.

The importance of economising on material and labour will rise still more with the expansion of social production. What we need is to mobilise all our internal economic reserves. In seven years production expenses in industry, construction, transport and State farms should be cut by approximately 850,000 million roubles. What does this amount to? It amounts to almost half the capital investments to be made by the State in the seven-year period.

Successful fulfilment of the planned assignments calls emphatically for a marked improvement of our work in all economic spheres.

The drive for the utmost thrift is of special importance in our country, where internal accumulation at the various enterprises is the main source of extended Socialist reproduction. The Party has always emphasised the need to operate the economy in the most rational manner.

Today, when a 1 per cent reduction in production expenses stands for a colossal figure exceeding 12,000 million roubles—and at the end of the seven-year period it is going to be 21,000 million roubles annually—the effort to cut production costs, to be thrifty in everything, is of the greatest importance.

Therefore, it is a matter of organising a truly all-out drive against all kinds of mismanagement, extravagance and neglect with regard to public property. We must make the managers bear more responsibility for im-

proving the efficiency indices of industrial establishments and construction projects, and particularly for reducing production costs and improving the quality of what they produce. Operation on a self-supporting basis should be further consolidated in industry, construction, transport and agriculture.

The Seven-Year Plan is being drawn up in such a way that it can be carried out without overstrain. Why has this been done? Because, if we have a very strained plan, there is always the chance that some of its targets may not be reached, that some branches of the economy may not get all they require in the way of raw materials, supplies and equipment, and this is liable to cause interruptions in the work and, consequently, under-capacity operations of plants and factories, idle working time and all attendant consequences. This is what economists call disproportions.

The Seven-Year Plan is being drawn up in such a way as to rule this out. Overfulfilment of the plan will give us a chance to create additional reserves and obtain additional accumulations. We shall thus have favourable conditions for the rhythmical operation of industrial enterprises and better use of equipment. As a result, there will be no interruptions in the operation of enterprises, better use will be made of labour and equipment, and under-capacity operation will be eliminated. Consequently, labour productivity will rise and the workers' earnings will be more stable.

This creates good conditions for the balanced development of all branches of the national economy. Naturally, however, if a plan is allowed to drift, if it is allowed to shift for itself, it will not be carried out. We must rally the people—the workers, technicians, engineers, scientists, office workers, collective farmers and State farm workers—to fulfil and overfulfil the Seven-Year Plan.

What does overfulfilling the plan by 1 or 2 per cent amount to nowadays?

It will be remembered that in the final year of the First Five-Year Plan (1932), a 1 per cent increase in industrial output amounted, at present-day prices, to about 800 million roubles; in 1959 it will be more than 11,000 million roubles; while in 1965, according to the plan, 1 per cent will amount to upwards of 19,000 million roubles. If, for example, the average annual rates of industrial growth stipulated in the Seven-Year Plan (8.6 per cent) are exceeded annually by 1 per cent, this will mean that in 1965 industry will produce additional output worth 130,000 million roubles, and a total of more than 440,000 million roubles for all the seven years taken together. If the average annual increase exceeds the plan target by 2 per cent, the additional output will exceed 265,000 million roubles in 1965 and 900,000 million roubles in the seven years taken together. We are also convinced that the targets for agricultural expansion and those for reducing production and circulation costs will also be exceeded by a sizeable margin.

As a result, the State will have additional accumulations running into thousands of millions of roubles. They will constitute an appreciable reserve in the hands of the Government for improving the material well-being of the people. The funds we shall obtain from over-fulfilling the

plan will enable us to build more houses and boarding schools, and factories manufacturing consumer goods. They will enable us to put more money into the accelerated development of the key branches of agriculture. We shall also have more of a chance to render assistance to the fraternal Socialist countries.

The experience of Socialist construction in our country, the nationwide emulation movement and labour enthusiasm, give us all confidence that our new plan, too, will not only be fulfilled, but overfulfilled.

Rise in the Living Standards of the Soviet People

Comrades, the Seven-Year Plan sets the task of achieving a *continuous improvement in the standards of living of the people*, on the basis of a further mighty and all-round advance of the economy, with priority growth of heavy industry.

In present day conditions when a powerful Socialist industry and large-scale agriculture have been built up in our country and are making good progress, there is every prerequisite for the Soviet people to live still better in the immediate future, and to satisfy more fully their material and spiritual requirements.

The Seven-Year Plan provides for :

- A substantial growth of the national income and a marked increase, on this basis, of the real incomes of the people ;

- A shorter working day and a shorter working week ;

- An expansion in the output of consumer goods and an improvement in their quality ;

- Large-scale housing construction ;

- A substantial improvement of public, cultural and other services.

In a Socialist society the growth of the national income is the most general indication of the real basis for improving the well-being of the people.

In the United States, the capitalist classes appropriate more than half the national income, while making up only about one-tenth of the country's population. In the U.S.S.R. the working people receive about three-quarters of the national income for the satisfaction of their material and cultural requirements. The rest of the national income, which likewise belongs to the working people, is used to expand Socialist production and for other social needs.

In 1965 the national income of the U.S.S.R. will have risen by 62-65 per cent as compared with 1958, and will exceed almost sixfold the level of the prewar year of 1940. No capitalist country knows such high rates of growth of the national income. The greater national income will ensure a rise in popular consumption of goods of between 60 and 63 per cent in the seven years. The incomes of the people will increase substantially.

As a result of higher money wages, pensions and allowances, and a reduction of prices in public catering establishments, the real incomes per head of factory and office workers will have gone up by 40 per cent by

the end of the seven-year period. We plan to raise the minimum wages of low-paid workers from 270-350 roubles to 500-600 roubles a month. The real incomes of the collective farmers will also go up by not less than 40 per cent, chiefly through the expansion of collective farm production.

At the present time all economic and cultural development in the Soviet Union is financed chiefly with the accumulations of Socialist enterprises. As the Seven-Year Plan progresses, these accumulations will grow steadily and ultimately will become the only source ensuring extended Socialist reproduction and a further rise in living standards.

Under these conditions taxes from the population will no longer be necessary either from the standpoint of their class significance—as was the case in the past, when they served to limit the incomes of the capitalist elements—or from the standpoint of budgetary revenue, for even now taxes paid by the population make up only an insignificant portion — 7.8 per cent of budgetary revenue.

All this will enable us to end taxation of the population in the next few years. Of course such a major measure requires all-round study and adequate preparations, so that it can be carried out most rationally, observing the interests of the population and the State.

The pension system in our country, as is known, is better than in any capitalist country. In the U.S.S.R. all factory and office workers are entitled to pensions, which are paid by the State. In those capitalist countries which happen to have pension systems, these are maintained chiefly by the workers themselves, since pension funds are made up mostly of deductions from wages.

The social problems of employment—the continuous unemployment in the towns and the mass ruin of the peasantry in the countryside—insoluble under capitalism, are not known in Socialist society. In seven years the number of factory and office workers engaged in our national economy will increase by another 12 million, reaching 66,500,000.

You know that, among other measures for improving the well-being of the people, the Seven-Year Plan envisages an increase in wages. The question arises: Should we raise living standards solely through increases in wages and further price reductions?

Of course, the Party and the Government will consistently adhere to their charted course as regards increasing wages and reducing prices. But this is only one of the ways. The material and cultural standards of the Soviet people are determined not only by the benefits they receive in the form of wages, or gain from price reductions. It would be wrong to think that if today you earn, say, 30 roubles a day, you live under Socialism, and if tomorrow you earn five times as much, you will have entered Communism.

Under Socialism the effort to raise living standards extends to satisfying a broad range of man's diverse requirements. There is a really Communist way of raising the wellbeing of the people, of creating better living conditions for all society, and for each individual member of it. This includes better housing, better public catering, better public services, more child welfare establishments, an improved system of education,

more recreation and holiday facilities, improved medical services, more cultural establishments, and so on.

In the early years of Soviet rule, when public canteens, kindergartens and nurseries appeared in our country, V. I. Lenin called them "examples of the shoots of Communism." He regarded the careful tending of those shoots as a prime duty of the State, saying that "with the support of the proletarian State power the shoots of Communism will not wither, but grow and blossom into complete Communism." [*Works, Vol. 29, p. 397.*] Today we have not just a few shoots, but a whole system of various organisations of the Communist type, and it is our duty to increase their number and to improve their work.

Man is a social being, his life outside the collective, in isolation from the society to which he is bound by most diverse ties, is inconceivable. This social aspect of man's life is revealed more fully in the course of Communist construction. That is why the satisfaction of his individual requirements must proceed hand in hand with the increasing supply of the good things of life produced by society. It must proceed not only through increasing wages, but also through social funds, whose role and significance will rise more and more.

The expenditure of the State on social services enjoyed by the people is growing constantly. It is a pointer, for example, that over 215,000 million roubles were spent in 1958 for social insurance benefits, allowances, pension, allowances to students, free education, health services, payments for holidays, maintenance of boarding schools, kindergartens, nurseries, sanatoria, holiday homes and homes for the aged, and other payments and benefits. The Seven-Year Plan provides that expenses under this head should rise to about 360,000 million roubles, or to about 3,800 roubles per worker annually. In addition, the State will spend over 800 roubles annually per worker on the building of houses, cultural, medical and other establishments.

These are big sums, comrades. Only a Socialist State can allot such funds for improving living standards. It is no accident that many visitors to our country from the capitalist world—often not Communists at all, yet honest people—are amazed to see how much is being done for man in our country.

Let us take such a vital matter as housing. Housing is one of the most acute social problems of mankind. In the United States, for example, as stated in the *Book of Facts* issued by the National Committee of the Democratic Party, 15 million people live in slums, 13 million dwellings (one in four of all dwellings) do not conform to standard, and seven million urban dwellings are so dilapidated as to be unfit for human habitation. The shortage of housing, the high rents which swallow up 25 to 30 per cent of the family budget, are a constant curse to the working people in the capitalist world.

In the Soviet Union ever greater concern is shown all the time to improve housing and living conditions. Rent, including public utility services, amounts, on the average, to 4-5 per cent of a family budget. In the countryside, dwellings are built with the assistance of the collective farms and the State. In no capitalist country do the working people enjoy such opportunities.

The aim set by the Party and the Government in 1957 to end the housing shortage and thereby solve the housing problem in the following ten to 12 years, is being carried out successfully. Houses with a total floor space of 120 million square metres have been built in the past two years, which is 12 million square metres more than planned.

In the next seven years, we are to build houses with a total floor space of 650-660 million square metres, which is 15 million flats. This is more than all the housing built to date since the Revolution.

In distributing housing, the task is to provide a separate flat for each family. Attention should be paid to improving the work of town planning and the architectural organisations which should conform to the higher demands being made. These organisations should develop economic types of housing for application, and also general town development plans and blueprints of rural communities, to ensure that living conditions in town and country meet the diverse demands of the Soviet people.

Not only must we provide man with good housing. We must also teach him to make proper use of the benefits offered by society, to live properly, to observe the rules of the Socialist community. This does not come of itself, and is achieved through long and persistent effort for the victory of the new Communist way of life.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages a further improvement in the public health and medical services. In the capitalist countries nobody is concerned for the working man, for his health and life. All medical services, large and small, are paid for by the individual. When we were in Finland a worker told us what a hard time he had when he fell ill with appendicitis and needed an operation. He had the choice of paying a lot of money or dying.

And this is not an isolated case. The *U.S. News and World Report* says that medical costs in the United States have become "a great burden upon an average family." The magazine reports that the cost of surgical treatment for stomach ulcers runs up to 1,264 dollars 50 cents, of which 325 dollars 50 cents is the charge for staying in hospital for 21 days, 500 dollars is paid for the operation, 75 dollars for the use of the operating room, three dollars for staying in the convalescence ward, 78 dollars 60 cents for treatment, 21 dollars 50 cents for oxygen, 56 dollars 30 cents for bandages, 99 dollars for laboratory services, 50 dollars for anaesthetics, and 55 dollars for X-ray examinations.

In the Soviet Union the people enjoy free medical services. They have at their disposal a broad network of hospitals and health centres. State outlays for the further improvement of the public health services in our country will total close on 360,000 million roubles in the seven years.

Higher living standards and improved health services have lengthened the average life span in our country. In recent years the Soviet Union has had the world's lowest mortality rate, while the increase in population has been higher than in most countries. The general mortality rate in the U.S.S.R. has been cut by three-quarters as compared with pre-revolutionary figures, and child mortality by five-sixths.

These are objective figures and they speak volumes.

Reduction of the working day has always been one of the goals of the

Communist Party's programme. The target figures call for completing in 1960 the transfer of factory and office workers to a seven-hour working day, and of workers in leading trades of the coal and mining industries occupied in underground work to a six-hour day.

In 1962, the transfer of factory and office workers with a seven-hour working day to a 40-hour week will be completed.

Starting from 1964, workers engaged in underground work, and on work involving harmful labour conditions, will gradually go over to a 30-hour week, and the rest of the workers to a 35-hour week. This means that if there is one full day off a week, the working day will be five or six hours, depending on the nature of the job. Since the majority of factory and office workers prefer to have two full days off each week, it is intended to introduce a five-day working week with a six- or seven-hour day.

A shorter working day and working week will be introduced in our country without reduction in wages: rather, wages will rise substantially.

The U.S.S.R. will have the shortest working day and the shortest working week in the world, with a simultaneous rise in living standards.

In the Soviet Union, greater output of foodstuffs leads to a steady growth of consumption of goods and better nutrition of the entire population, while in the capitalist countries the average figures conceal a huge gap in the level of nutrition between the propertied classes and the working people, and also between the population in the metropolitan countries and in the colonies.

Bigger output of consumer goods and higher incomes demand an improvement and expansion of trade. Retail sales of State and Co-operative trading organisations will increase by 57 to 62 per cent in the seven years. There will be bigger sales to the population of foodstuffs, textiles, clothing, underwear and footwear. Some 90,000 shops and 64,000 public catering establishments are to be built in the seven-year period.

Comrades, the exceptional importance of public catering should be emphasised. It is necessary to extend still wider the network of super-canteens, of factory, college and school canteens, to establish canteens catering for workers' families in blocks of flats. The task is to reduce food prices at public catering establishments.

To render better services to the population it is necessary to extend the network of dressmaking and tailoring shops, clothing and shoe-repair establishments, enterprises for renovating flats and repairing furniture, and other services.

Our enemies abroad allege that the Soviet Seven-Year Plan has been drawn up with emphasis on the development of heavy industry and will involve "sacrifices" by the population. Our plan does, indeed, provide for large capital investments for developing heavy industry. But could it be otherwise?

To have a sufficient quantity of consumer goods, we need the means of production. We need to produce metal, develop machines, instal automatic transfer lines which will work to satisfy man's requirements.

Even to grow such a simple product as potatoes, a metal share for the wooden plough was needed in the past.

But we are marching toward Communist society. We want machines to do all the main jobs, with man merely controlling them. Formerly a peasant had to skimp and save when he wanted to buy a horse. He knew full well that if he had a horse he would eat, and that without a horse he would starve.

Now the times are different. The development of industry, the growth of the means of production — that is our all-powerful horse. Once we have the horse, we shall have everything else as well.

During the early Five-Year Plan periods, when the Soviet Union — the world's only Socialist country in a ring of capitalist countries — had to fight for its life, the Soviet people strained every muscle and consciously made sacrifices to break the grip of age-old backwardness and develop a powerful Socialist economy. But even at that time the Party and the State did everything possible to improve the people's living standards.

Today we are on a different level of development. We have other possibilities, other forces, and we set the task of appreciably improving living standards in all earnest. That is why there is no cause to speak of "sacrifices" unless one wishes to distort the truth.

Let the "critics" of our plan name a single capitalist country that intends to expand the people's consumption of goods on so large a scale as our country! Let them name a bourgeois State contemplating a reduction of the working day, with the same and even higher wages. In the capitalist countries the working class, the working people, have to wage a bitter struggle for this against the exploiters. The capitalist world does not, nor could it, have such States, such governments, such concern for the working people.

Communist Upbringing and Public Education — Development of Science and Culture

Comrades, for the transition to Communism what is needed is not only a developed material and technical basis, but also a highly conscious attitude on the part of all members of Socialist society.

The higher the conscious attitude of the masses, millions strong, the more successfully the plans of Communist construction will be carried out. That is why questions of the Communist education of the people, particularly the younger generation, are assuming exceptional importance.

The purpose of all the ideological activities of our Party and the State is to develop new traits in Soviet people, to educate them in the spirit of collectivism and industry, Socialist internationalism and patriotism, the high ethical principles of the new society, in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

To achieve Communism, the most just and perfect human society, when all the finest moral traits of the free man will unfold to the full, we must bring up the man of the future today.

Communist ethics should be developed among Soviet people, ethics

founded on devotion to Communism and intolerance of its enemies, on a sense of social duty, active participation in work for the good of society, on a voluntary observance of the basic rules of human relations, comradely mutual assistance, honesty and truthfulness, intolerance of those who violate public order.

Bourgeois ideologists and politicians, and their opportunist yes-men, are exerting considerable effort to prove that Communists reject morals, that Socialism does not conform to the moral laws of humanity. On the other hand, they boost themselves as champions of moral values, of humanism, freedom, and the rights of the individual.

But do they have any grounds for such claims? The answer is furnished by life itself, by a mere comparison of the ethics of the two worlds.

The spirit of individualism, self-interest, the thirst for profit, hostility and competition — these make up the essence of the ethics of bourgeois society. Exploitation of man by man, upon which bourgeois society rests, tramples ethics underfoot. — It is no accident that the ethics of the exploiting classes are typified by the brutal formula: "Man is a wolf to man." Socialism puts forward different ethics — co-operation and collectivism, friendship and mutual assistance. It accentuates concern for the common good of the people, for the all-round development of the human personality, in a collective where man is a friend and brother to man, not an enemy.

The champions of Communism are inspired by the high ideal of liberating the masses from the yoke of capital, of serving man's common good. Their own standards and behaviour are an example of moral force. Communists have never spared themselves, nor their lives. They have fearlessly faced the risk of execution and torture for the victory of their noble ideals. Even now, many Communists are languishing in prisons and dungeons in the capitalist countries for their humanist convictions, for their devotion to the people and their selfless struggle for happiness.

The great moral influence of the ideas of Communism in the Socialist countries is vividly shown in the active participation of millions of people in building the new life. Bourgeois politicians are unable to understand the patriotism and labour enthusiasm of Soviet men and women, who place the interests of society above their personal interests, realising that under Socialism the well-being and happiness of the people is ensured by all society.

Let us take, for example, such a fact as the State loan measures carried out on the initiative of the people. Millions of Soviet men and women expressed themselves in favour of deferring the redemption of old State loans for 20-25 years. This fact reveals to us such new traits of character, such moral qualities in our people, as are unthinkable under an exploiting system.

It is well known that, in the capitalist system, man withdraws into his shell, holds aloof from others and depends only on his own strength, because he has no one else to depend upon. He knows that if he should be out of work, he would be deprived of the means of livelihood, would be doomed to poverty and starvation.

The situation is different under Socialism. Here each man feels the solicitude of society, of the State. That is why the urge for self-aggrandisement, for private property, is disappearing from the mind of the Soviet citizen, whereas the spirit of collectivism and concern for public welfare is gaining in him.

Our country, for example, is intensely developing new areas with very rich natural resources. Many new factories, plants, mines, power stations and other projects are being built in Siberia, Kazakhstan, the North, the Far East, often in desolate localities with quite a harsh climate. Large numbers of workers are needed to build and operate these projects. Where are they to come from?

In capitalist countries there is always a huge army of unemployed, driven by hunger to all corners in quest of a job. They are prepared to do any work to earn their subsistence.

Soviet men and women do not know the scourge of unemployment. In our country want does not drive people to distant parts in search of their daily bread. Soviet people go to new places, moved mainly by noble patriotic sentiments.

At the call of the Party and the Government, hundreds of thousands of young men and women who had a trade and a job in the republic's capital or other cultural and industrial centres, leave what is known as hearth and home, and go to new, unknown places. They know that, to start with, they will lack many of the amenities they enjoyed at home, that they may live in tents and at times do work which is not in their line.

The sentiments of most Soviet people are subordinated to a high ideal: to be useful to society, to produce more and more of the good things of life. It is this and not the thirst for profit, as is the case under capitalism, that is the principal motive force behind the actions of Soviet people. The American writer Jack London gave a vivid portrayal of people of the bourgeois world, swept by the "gold rush," ready to crawl for gold to the end of the world.

The foremost Soviet men and women go to distant parts not because they are lured by the "golden calf," nor for the sake of personal enrichment, but to build new factories and plants, plough up virgin soil, erect new towns for society, for our children, for our future, in the name of the victory of Communism.

People of an individualist bent who have the bourgeois conception of the interests of the individual cannot understand the new moral traits of the Soviet people, and that is why they try to explain away the patriotic acts of Soviet people as being done under compulsion.

These explanations and their authors, who are incapable of grasping the supreme morals of Socialist man who performs brave deeds for the good of society, the good of mankind, make the Soviet people laugh.

In organising our ideological work we proceed from the premise that the promotion of Communist ethics must be tied up with the building of Communism. We have learned, not only theoretically, but also from experience, the profound truth of scientific Communism that revolutionary practice plays a decisive part in changing the conditions of life and the views of men and women. Life, our Soviet reality, is the best school.

the most exacting teacher. A bookish knowledge of Communist principles, knowledge divorced from life, is worthless.

Education must, above all, be linked with life, with production, with the practical activities of the people. The Party makes the labour education of all the people and the promotion of a conscious Communist attitude to labour the pivot of all its educational activity. We want labour — the source of all material and cultural benefits — to become the prime vital necessity of the people.

Communist views and standards of behaviour are striking root in the struggle against the survivals of capitalism. We still frequently meet people with a dishonest attitude to social labour who engage in profiteering, commit breaches of discipline and disturb public order. We must not wait calmly for these survivals of capitalism to vanish of their own accord; we must combat them with determination and direct public opinion against any manifestation of bourgeois views and customs, against anti-social elements.

In all its educational work, the Party attaches special importance to bringing up the younger generation. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said: "All the work of upbringing, educating and training the youth today should aim, in the course of it, to develop Communist ethics." [*Works, Vol. 31, p. 266.*]

The youth is already now building Communism, and subsequently will live and work in Communist society, will administer all its affairs. It is for this high mission that Soviet youth must be brought up.

Our younger generation has not had the experience of struggle which fell to the lot of the older generation. Young people do not know the horrors and hardships of pre-revolutionary times and can get an idea about the exploitation of the toilers only from books. Hence, it is very important for our younger generation to know the history of the country, of the working people's struggle for their liberation, the heroic history of the Communist Party. It is very important to bring them up on the revolutionary traditions of our Party, our working class.

Some people under-estimate the harm done by bourgeois influences among the Soviet youth. They think that the bourgeoisie is far away from us and our youth is beyond its reach. But this is a delusion. We must not ignore the possibility of bourgeois influence, and it is our duty to fight it, to fight against the penetration of alien views and customs into the midst of Soviet people, particularly the youth.

The school holds a special place in the Communist education of the younger generation. The Soviet school has prepared tens of millions of educated citizens, builders of Socialism. It has helped to rear remarkable engineers, technicians, agronomists, teachers, doctors and other qualified people with a secondary or higher education. The positive part played by the school in educating and bringing up the younger generation is well known. But, for all its successes, the Soviet school system still lags behind the demands of Communist construction, and has serious shortcomings.

The theses of the central committee of the Community Party and the Soviet Government "On establishing closer links between school and life, and the further development of public education," which received

general support in the nation-wide discussion, have been approved by the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which adopted an important decision to this effect.

When we raised the question of reorganising the school system, some "prophets" abroad shouted: "They are short of labour, that is why they want to make youngsters work." Let such oracles crow. They will never understand us in any case. We are reorganising the school system not because we are short of labour, but because we want to improve the educational system, because we want to link school still closer with life.

The reorganisation of the educational system fully conforms to the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist teaching on education and upbringing, and opens the way to the effective introduction into the school system of polytechnical education. As far back as the end of the last century, V. I. Lenin, thinking of ways of moulding the new man, the builder of the new society, of combining education with industrial production, wrote:

"... It is impossible to conceive of the ideal future society without the younger generation combining schooling with productive work; neither schooling and upbringing without productive work, nor productive work without parallel schooling and upbringing could be raised to the heights demanded by the present state of technology and scientific knowledge." [*Works, Vol. 2, p. 440.*]

The close link of school with life, with production, with the practice of Communist construction must become the leading principle in learning the fundamentals of science in school, the basis for educating the growing generation in the spirit of Communist ethics.

The linking of the school with productive work does not detract from, but rather enhances the knowledge acquired. I have spoken on many occasions with young collective farmers and workers who study at evening institutes or technical school, or by correspondence, and to students who have come to technical school or institute from industry.

What remarkable people they are! Persistent, strong willed, eager to learn, they absorb knowledge so as to work better for the good of society and not as a sort of dowry, not for the peace of mind of some parents who consider it a "tragedy" if their son or daughter has no diploma.

We have to raise the role of the State and society in the upbringing of children, render greater assistance to the family from the State and society.

For this purpose it is planned to build many new boarding schools, nurseries, and kindergartens. In 1965 boarding schools will have no fewer than 2,500,000 pupils. The number of children accommodated in kindergartens will increase from 2,280,000 to 4,200,000 over the next seven years.

In future it is planned to give all children the opportunity of attending boarding schools, which will enable society to cope successfully with Communist education of the younger generation, and to draw fresh millions of women into the active building of Communism.

The Soviet State has delivered women from the state of semi-slavery

in which she languished under tsarism and is still kept in many capitalist countries. Soviet women are an active force in all spheres of governmental, political, economic, and cultural life. On a par with men, they enjoy all the rights of a citizen of Socialist society. But many women are engaged in housework, and take care of their children, which makes it harder for them to participate actively in public life.

Conditions should be created which would enable all women to take a greater advantage of their rights, their knowledge, and their talents in productive, socially useful activities. By extending the network of boarding schools, kindergartens, nurseries, public catering establishments, public utilities and other amenities, we are creating these conditions for all women.

The Seven-Year Plan provides for a further considerable expansion and improvement in training specialists with a higher or secondary education.

In 1959-65 2,300,000 specialists will graduate from universities and institutes, as compared with 1,700,000 people graduating in the preceding seven-year period. In 1965 the total number of specialists with a higher education will exceed 4,500,000, i.e. will be 50 per cent more than in 1958. Particularly rapid will be the growth in the number of specialists engaged in the sphere of material production.

The main thing in reorganising the system of higher education is to link it closer with life, and improve markedly the practical, scientific and theoretical training of specialists, bringing them up to be active builders of Communism.

The reorganisation of the secondary and higher educational systems will require time and effort. The Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics will adopt laws on the educational system conforming to their national traditions and features.

Comrades, the building of the material and technical basis of Communism demands scientific progress, the active participation of scientists in solving problems related to the further all-round development of our country's productive forces. The Seven-Year Plan opens new vistas before our scientists and scientific institutions. There is ample scope for the application of energy and knowledge!

What will our scientists work on in the next seven years? They will work first of all on harnessing controlled thermonuclear reactions to obtain a practically limitless source of energy, on problems pertaining to the broad use of nuclear energy in power and transport, on extending the use of synthetic materials, products of nuclear fission and radio-isotopes, on problems of the comprehensive mechanisation and automation of production processes and the development of new technical means for this, based on the wide application of physics, radio-electronics and computer techniques.

Great tasks, as is pointed out in the theses, are also set before scientists working in the fields of chemistry, metallurgy, geology, various branches of agriculture, medicine and other spheres.

Serious demands are made upon all branches of the social sciences. It is the duty of our economists, philosophers and historians to make a profound study of the laws governing the transition from Socialism to

Communism, to study the experience of economic and cultural development and to help educate the working people in the Communist spirit.

Scholars in the sphere of social sciences, particularly economics, are confronted with the task of creatively summarising and giving bold theoretical solutions to new problems raised by life.

It is necessary to analyse from every angle the major processes taking place in the capitalist world, to expose bourgeois ideology, to fight for the purity of Marxist-Leninist theory.

We have constantly to strengthen the bonds of our scientific institutions with practice, to apply the latest achievements of science in the economy extensively and swiftly, to accelerate more boldly experimental and designing work.

The building of Communism presupposes not only an unprecedented development of economy, science and culture. It offers unusual scope for the fullest all-round development of all the creative potentialities and talents of man.

Literature and art, which actively help to mould Socialist man, play an important part in the progress and enrichment of the spiritual culture of Socialist society. No task is more noble, no task greater, than that confronting our art, namely, to portray the heroic deeds of the people, the builders of Communism. It is the duty of writers, of theatre, cinema and music workers, of sculptors and painters, to raise still higher the content and artistic level of their work, to continue as energetic assistants of the Party and the State in the Communist educational principles of Communist ethics, in the development of our multi-national Socialist culture, in developing good aesthetic taste.

The Seven-Year Plan envisages still more favourable conditions for ideological work — the Press, radio and television, cinema and cultural and educational establishments are to be greatly extended. The circulation of newspapers and magazines and the printing of books will be increased substantially. The capacity of the printing industry will be enlarged during the seven-year period. Much attention will be paid to the radio service and the building of cultural and educational establishments, particularly in the countryside.

In accomplishing the tasks faced by our country a big part will be played by our entire Soviet intelligentsia, which, together with the working class and collective farm peasantry, will make a worthy contribution to the building of Communism.

III

Decisive Stage in the Economic Competition Between Socialism and Capitalism, and the Present International Situation

Comrades, the Seven-Year Plan will have a telling impact on the international situation and will be a new triumph for Marxism-Leninism. Our successes in fulfilling the plan will attract millions of new adherents to Socialism, consolidate the forces of peace and weaken the forces of war, and bring about tremendous changes not only in our country, but in the whole world. There will be in the world a decisive shift in favour of Socialism in the economic sphere.

Economy is the main field in which the peaceful competition between Socialism and capitalism is unfolding, and it is in our interests to win this competition in an historically short period.

The Seven-Year Plan and the Basic Economic Task of the USSR

By fulfilling the Seven-Year Plan, we shall make a decisive step toward accomplishing the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R. — to overtake and outstrip the most advanced capitalist countries in output per head of population in the briefest possible period of history.

In the first stage of our competition with capitalism, which opened with the Great October Socialist Revolution, the question of "who beats whom," formulated by Vladimir Lenin, was decided in our country in favour of Socialism. It was a world historical triumph and revealed Socialism's decisive advantages over capitalism. Even in that early stage, Socialism scored major successes in the international arena. As time went on, the Soviet Union greatly surpassed the advanced countries of Western Europe in industrial output and moved ahead into second place in the world.

In 1958, the industrial output of the Soviet Union considerably exceeded that of France, Britain and Western Germany combined.

Socialism has conclusively proved its complete superiority over capitalism in rates of economic growth. Now we are entering a new stage in our economic competition with capitalism.

Today, our task is to tip the scales in world production in favour of the Socialist system against the capitalist system, to surpass the

most advanced capitalist countries in productivity of social labour and output per head of population, and to attain the world's highest living standards.

In this stage of the competition, the Soviet Union intends to surpass the United States economically. The U.S. production level is the ceiling which capitalist economy has been able to achieve.

We all know that favourable historical and natural conditions have done their part in this. To surpass America's level is to surpass capitalism's supreme achievement.

The very fact that we now set ourselves this task shows how much our strength, our resources, have grown. There was a time when our country was far behind most capitalist countries in many economic and cultural aspects, a time when we thought least of all of comparing ourselves to America. Today, we have a different level, a different potential, and different possibilities.

The titanic labour effort of the Soviet people, who follow the road indicated by Lenin, has raised our formerly backward country to so great a height that we can now vie with the strongest capitalist power.

When the foundations of Socialism were still being laid, our Party knew well in advance that the stage of decisive competition with capitalism would inevitably come and that Socialism would then show all its possibilities. Now we can say that this stage has arrived. With its present productive forces, its enhanced productivity of social labour, its modern technology, its planned Socialist economy, and the creative energies of its people, the Soviet Union has every chance of winning this competition in peaceful endeavour.

What are the immediate prospects in the economic development of the two world systems?

The span of time in which the U.S.S.R. will accomplish its basic economic task depends above all on the initial relation between the production levels in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A.

What can be said on that score?

— The volume of Soviet industrial production is about half America's volume, and that of Soviet agricultural production is 20 to 25 per cent lower.

— U.S. industrial output per head of population is more than double that of the U.S.S.R., and agricultural output about 40 per cent higher.

How soon can we close this gap, draw level, and then surpass the U.S.A. in these indices?

Rates of production growth are decisive. And the advantage in rates rests with the Socialist economic system. Our average annual industrial rates of growth since the revolution have been three to five times higher than those of the developed capitalist countries.

We do not doubt for a moment that the average annual growth of industrial output of 8.6 per cent designated in the Seven-Year Plan will not only be achieved, but also surpassed. Nor will the capitalist countries, evidently, stand still. In the next few years U.S. industrial production will presumably grow some 2 per cent annually. That has been the rate of development in American industry in recent years.

There is one more important thing we must bear in mind. In spite of its fairly low rates of economic growth the U.S. was for a long time ahead of the U.S.S.R. in annual physical industrial growth. But that time is now past. In the last eight years the Soviet physical volume of growth for a number of key lines (steel, pig iron, iron ore, oil, coal, cement, woollen textiles) has on the whole exceeded America's.

Thus, a qualitatively new stage in the competition has opened in this respect as well. Today our country is ahead of the U.S. both in annual rates and in annual physical growth of production. We go forward four times as fast, and we add more to our output each year. Consequently, it is now much easier to overtake the Americans.

Soviet and U.S. rates of industrial growth being what they are, the Soviet Union will, after fulfilling the plan, surpass the United States for physical output in some key lines and draw near to America's present level of output in others. By that time the output of major farm products, both physical and per head of population, will exceed the present U.S. level. The population in the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. will grow, and it is to be expected that in our country it will grow more.

The population of the U.S.S.R. will probably be about 15 to 20 per cent greater than in the U.S. Hence, if we reckon per head of population, it will probably take us another five years after completing the Seven-Year Plan to catch up and surpass the United States in industrial production.

Consequently, by that time — or even earlier — the Soviet Union will rank first in the world both for physical volume of production and production per head of population. That will be a world historical victory for Socialism in its peaceful competition with capitalism in the international arena.

Bourgeois economists contend that at a certain point the industrial development rates in the U.S.S.R. are bound to "slacken." What they are trying to do is to apply the capitalist economic yardstick to Socialism. Capitalism does indeed erect insuperable barriers to the development of the productive forces and its rates of industrial growth do begin to drop off. Socialism, on the other hand, creates every condition for a continuous expansion of the productive forces.

In post-war years there has been much talk in the United States and other capitalist countries about "prosperity" and the advent of a "crisis free" epoch in capitalist development.

But what is the real state of the post-war capitalist economy? In some 12 years, the United States has had three critical production slumps — in 1948-49, 1953-54 and, notably, in 1957-58.

How this affects the economy is illustrated by the latest crisis. U.S. industrial output in 1957 was, in the main, the same as the year before, whereas in 1958 it dropped 6.5 per cent below the 1957 figure. Thus, the crisis has flung back U.S. industry to its 1953 level.

The continuous alternation of crisis slumps and feverish upturns speaks of the instability of capitalist economy. Neither the arms race, nor any other measure will ever rid the economy of the United States and the other capitalist countries of crises of over-production. Whatever the

capitalist States do, they will never eliminate the cause of crises. Capitalism will never break the death grip of its own contradictions.

They keep growing in size and scope, holding the threat of new economic upheavals. There is every evidence of a further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism in consequence of the radical shift in the balance of forces between the world Socialist system and the world capitalist system, the disintegration of the colonial system and the sharpening of social antagonisms in the capitalist countries.

Socialism's victory over capitalism depends greatly on increased production. But, to judge the advantages of one system over another, we must primarily consider what this increased production yields to society, to man.

Of what benefit, indeed, is it, say, to an unemployed man in America if his country produces a lot of meat and butter and many television sets and motor cars per head of population?

After all, the lion's share of all produced wealth in the capitalist countries goes to the exploiters and their hangers-on, whereas under Socialism greater *per capita* production means an actual improvement of living conditions for the working man. Figuratively speaking, when we expand production each "head" in the country really benefits from it, whereas in the capitalist countries it is the richer "head," the "head" with capital, that derives all the benefits from greater production. A "head" with no capital will live from hand to mouth even when production rises. This is what they call "equal opportunities" under the capitalist system — one gets richer and the other starves. It is a pattern that is quite compatible with the laws of capitalism. It is considered normal and natural.

A contradiction of this kind — in which production rises while the consumption of the bulk of the population falls — is inconceivable under Socialism. In Socialist society expansion of production is planned with the express purpose of increasing the material wealth and satisfying the requirements of all members of society ever more fully.

It should be stressed that although the level of production in a capitalist and a Socialist country — the United States and the U.S.S.R., for example — may be the same, the social effects of this will be poles apart. This is precisely where the superiority of Socialism reveals itself, for under it production is subordinated not to profit-making but to the maximum satisfaction of the requirements of all members of society.

Further Strengthening of the World Socialist System

Comrades, an economic competition between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S., between the entire world Socialist system and the world capitalist system, is in progress on the international scene.

The state of contemporary capitalism is characterised not only by the highly developed countries, but by countries whose productive level is immeasurably lower. The level of production in the capitalist system as a whole lags far behind that of the United States. There is a big, con-

stantly widening gap between the various capitalist countries in rates of economic growth.

At the same time all the countries of the world Socialist system are making rapid economic and cultural progress.

High rates of growth are a general objective law of Socialism, now confirmed by the experience of all the countries of the Socialist camp.

In 1958, industrial output in the Socialist countries was five times that of 1937. Over the period 1950-58, the Chinese People's Republic raised its industrial output approximately tenfold. Compared with pre-war, industrial production in 1958 increased more than 450 per cent in Poland, 230 per cent in Czechoslovakia, more than 150 per cent in the German Democratic Republic, nearly 300 per cent in Rumania, over 300 per cent in Hungary, about 800 per cent in Bulgaria and 1,700 per cent in Albania. The Korean People's Democratic Republic increased industrial output three and a half times over, compared with 1949.

Industry is dominant in most of the People's Democracies, as a result of Socialist industrialisation. Poland, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria have become industrial and agrarian countries with a well-developed heavy industry, and the Chinese People's Republic is turning from mainly an agrarian country into an industrial and agrarian country.

The crucial problem of Socialist development—the shift of the peasantry to co-operation—is being solved successfully. In the Chinese People's Republic, the Bulgarian People's Republic, and the Korean People's Republic, agriculture has been put on co-operative lines, and in Czechoslovakia and Albania this process is nearly completed. Nearly half the arable land in the German Democratic Republic is in the hands of co-operatives and State farms. Co-operation in agriculture is also gaining in the other Socialist countries.

Some People's Democracies have already reached the stage of completing the construction of Socialism. The time is near when, like the Soviet Union, they will be building a Communist society. This is of great international importance.

Practice has shown that in building a new life only those Communist Parties can achieve success which are guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, by the general objective laws of Socialist development, which apply revolutionary theory creatively and take cognisance of the distinctive national and historical features of their countries. The fraternal parties of the Socialist countries enrich the theory and practice of Socialist construction and contribute to the further development of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of all the Socialist countries in Europe and Asia has proved that genuine progress is possible only along Socialist lines.

The world Socialist system as a whole has already caught up with the world capitalist system in industrial output per head of population. The Socialist countries, with about one-third of the world population, produces more than one-third of the world industrial output, nearly half of the world grain output, and 43 per cent of the cotton.

Economists estimate that with the existing high rates of economic development in the People's Democracies, and as a result of the Soviet Union fulfilling and surpassing its Seven-Year Plan, the world

Socialist system will account for more than half of the world industrial output.

The superiority of the world Socialist system over the world capitalist system in material production, that decisive sphere of human endeavour, will thereby be ensured.

Ponder over it, comrades! Although the Socialist countries occupy just one-quarter of the world's area and most of them were economically backward in the past, the time is not far distant when they will produce more than half the world's industrial output!

Is this not vivid proof that the countries which have taken the road of Socialism possess inexhaustible possibilities?

The Socialist revolution first triumphed in our country. For many years the bourgeoisie in all countries, and Social-Democratic leaders, too, from Kautsky to Sukhanov, forecast the inevitable collapse of Soviet rule and the restoration of capitalism owing to our economic backwardness. But what have these prophecies come to? Even the formerly industrially undeveloped countries have, under Socialism, overtaken the developed capitalist States and are confidently striding forward.

History shows that whenever power is taken by the working class and the Socialist system is established, the people get a chance to develop their country's economy at a far more rapid pace than under capitalism.

Experience shows that the people in the Socialist countries are finding ever-new resources to accelerate the rate of their economic development and improve living standards.

We advance shoulder to shoulder, giving each other fraternal assistance and support. In this way, we shall gradually raise the economic development of all the Socialist countries to a common level.

It is not the Soviet Union alone which is faced with the problem of winning as much time as possible in its economic competition with capitalism. It may be recalled, for example, that the Communist Party of China in 1957 set the target of surpassing Britain in the output of key industrial items in the next 15 years. The mass movement to make the "big leap," which has spread in that country, shows that the Chinese people will achieve that target in a far shorter period.

The Republic of Czechoslovakia intends by 1965 to raise industrial output 90 to 95 per cent over 1957, and the Polish People's Republic 80 per cent over 1958. The people of Bulgaria intend to fulfil their Five-Year Plan in three to four years.

The countries of the Socialist camp have all the prerequisites for winning first place in world production.

The world Socialist system has the advantage of superior rates of economic growth. The average annual industrial production increase for the entire Socialist camp has in the past five years (1954-58) amounted to 11 per cent, whereas in the capitalist world it was under 3 per cent.

In the world Socialist system all countries unite and co-ordinate their productive efforts, whereas irreconcilable antagonisms dominate relations between the capitalist countries.

Co-ordination of national economic plans is the form in which the productive efforts of the Socialist countries are pooled in the current stage.

International division of labour, particularly its highest forms — specialisation and co-operation — are to play a big part in the economic development of the Socialist camp. This offers new additional opportunities of expanding production in the Socialist camp, and in each individual Socialist country.

By itself no country could develop at the rapid pace at which it develops within the system of Socialist countries.

The distinctive feature about the economic development of the Socialist countries is that their inter-relations consolidate as they go forward, and the world Socialist system is thus further cemented. A diametrically opposite tendency obtains in the capitalist world, where the growth of production in some one country sharpens antagonisms between the capitalist States and leads to greater competition and to conflicts. The growth and development of each Socialist country tends to reinforce the entire Socialist system. Herein lies our strength and the guarantee of our imminent victories in Socialism's peaceful competition with capitalism.

The Soviet Union regards it as its primary task to work for the greater unity of the countries of the world Socialist system and for the further development of co-operation and of economic and cultural ties among them on the basis of Socialist internationalism and the fraternal friendship of free peoples.

* * *

Comrades, the attention of the world is focused on our Seven-Year Plan. It is being discussed and commented on by our friends and by our opponents.

Our friends warmly welcome the programme of Communist construction in the Soviet Union. All the Communist and Workers' Parties are of one mind in their evaluation of our plan. The working people and progressive people in all countries note its great importance for the further strengthening of the forces of peace, democracy and Socialism.

As for our opponents, our target figures have caused confusion among them. Bourgeois propaganda is distorting the peaceful goals of our plan and trying to minimise its impact on the minds and hearts of the ordinary people. But even bourgeois periodicals cannot help admitting that the tasks set in the Seven-Year Plan are really gigantic. The *Economist* said that the plan made a staggering impression.

Reading bourgeois Press comment on our plan, one cannot help recalling the comments on the first Five-Year Plan. At that time the bourgeois papers foretold the failure of the "Bolshevik experiment." They called it "madness" and a "pipe dream."

But times have changed. The successes scored by Socialism have taught the world to respect our plans. Many bourgeois leaders, sober economists and the Press are compelled to admit the feasibility of our programme. *Business Week* — the journal of the American monopolies — states that "the U.S.S.R. has a good chance of achieving its overall industrial goals . . . In the past the Soviets have substantially fulfilled their Five-Year Plan goals."

Sankai, a paper of the Japanese monopolies, declared that "it would be a mistake to doubt the feasibility of the published target figures, as some people still do in the capitalist world. The Soviet plan is feasible, if only

because it is based on the experience of the 40 years that have elapsed since the Revolution."

New times — new tunes. We can justly say that the Seven-Year Plan has already scored its initial success by winning universal international recognition.

The *Des Moines Register* warns Western leaders to 'take the Seven-Year Plan seriously, because the U.S.S.R. has "proved its capacity for making great economic advances — faster than those of the United States."

A *New York Times* editor admits: "The Soviet Union is now breathing down our necks, economically speaking. They are only two jumps behind us — a decade or so behind us — in productive capacity."

That is a sober deduction. We are much inclined to agree with it.

In admitting the feasibility of our new plans, bourgeois leaders and organs of the Press voice their concern that the fulfilment of the titanic tasks for the next seven years will greatly increase the appeal of the ideas of Communism.

The Right Wing French *L'Aurore* writes: "The Soviet Union has set the dates when the dreams of Marxist revolutionaries will become reality. It is starting out on unprecedented ventures." The *Wall Street Journal* writes that the plan may have so great an impact on some countries that they will "choose Communism," and that "there is not much the United States can do about it." Not a bad idea!

In the West they say that we have made our "challenge." Well, if they like the word, let us consider that we have. *But it is a challenge to compete in the peaceful development of our economies and in raising the people's living standards.*

Our people challenged capitalism by accomplishing the October Revolution, but it was not a military challenge. It was a challenge to peaceful competition. If our people had to develop war industry, they did so only because they had to be prepared to rebuff armed attack, whose threat has always hung over our country. Our chief aim was, and is, peaceful development and higher living standards.

We want to compete in the production of industrial goods, meat, butter, milk, clothing, footwear, and other consumer goods, rather than in the arms race and the production of A- and H-bombs and rockets.

Let the people judge for themselves what system best satisfies their requirements, and let them give each system its due.

The Peaceful Policy of the USSR and International Relations

The Seven-Year Plan is a fresh manifestation of the Leninist peaceful policy of the Soviet Union. It will play a very big part in solving the main problem of our time — the preservation of world peace.

The importance of the plan lies, first, in it being imbued with the spirit of peace. A State which undertakes a giant programme of building new factories, plants, power stations, mines and other enterprises, which allocates nearly 400,000 million roubles for housing and public building, and

sets the task of substantially raising the living standards of its people—that State seeks peace, not war.

Secondly, the plan, when fulfilled, will so greatly increase the economic potential of the U.S.S.R. that it will, together with the growth of the economic potential of all the Socialist countries, give peace a decisive advantage in the international balance of forces.

New, even more favourable conditions for averting a world war, for preserving peace on earth, will thus take shape.

The conclusion drawn by the 20th Congress of the Party that war is not fatally inevitable has been fully justified.

Today, we have all the more reason to reaffirm this conclusion. There are tremendous forces capable of rebuffing the imperialist aggressors and defeating them if they should start a world war.

What new elements will arise in the international situation with the implementation of the economic plans of the Soviet Union and all the other Socialist countries of Europe and Asia? *There will be a real possibility of eliminating war as a means of solving international issues.*

Indeed, when the U.S.S.R. becomes the leading industrial Power in the world, when the Chinese People's Republic becomes a mighty industrial Power and all the Socialist countries together produce more than half of the world industrial output, the world situation will change radically.

The successes of the countries of the Socialist camp will doubtless serve to strengthen the forces of peace throughout the world. By that time the countries working for lasting peace will no doubt be joined by new countries that have thrown off colonial oppression. The idea that war is inadmissible will take still firmer root in the minds of men.

This new balance of forces will be so patently evident that even the most diehard imperialists will clearly see the futility of starting a war against the Socialist camp. Backed by the might of the Socialist camp the peaceful nations will then be able to compel militant imperialist groups to abandon their plans of a new world war.

In this way a real possibility of excluding world war from the life of society will take shape even before the universal triumph of Socialism, with capitalism still existing in some parts of the world.

Some may say: But capitalism will still exist, and hence there will still be adventurers who might start a war. That is true, and we must not forget it. As long as capitalism exists there may always be people who, contrary to common sense, will want to launch out on a hopeless venture. But in that way they will only bring nearer the ultimate collapse of the capitalist system. Any attempt at aggression will be curbed and the adventurers put where they belong.

Such are the prospects, comrades, that arise as we discuss our plans.

Allow me to turn to specific problems concerning the international situation. I shall not deal with all international problems, but shall touch on just the vital ones.

Of great importance to peace and international security is a proper solution of the German problem. Twice in the first half of the 20th century German imperialism started world wars. Today, with the assistance of the monopolists of the U.S., Britain and the other partners of the aggres-

sive North Atlantic Pact, West Germany is being turned into the principal nuclear and rocket base for NATO. Even now, West Germany is coming to play a leading role in that aggressive bloc. Some Western politicians are evidently again thinking of channelling the German threat eastward and forget that German militarism also happens to know the way to the West.

A situation is taking shape in which German militarism may for the third time plunge mankind into a world war. When we point to the danger arising with the rearming of West Germany, we are told that it is kept under control within the NATO framework, and is hence no longer dangerous. But all can now see that militarism and revenge-seeking have raised their heads and that they menace peaceful nations.

The German Federal Republic is one of the countries whose rulers are for continuing the cold war, for carrying on the so-called policy from "positions of strength." Chancellor Adenauer pursues that policy most zealously. He is one of the chief opponents of any and all agreements designed to slacken international tension and end the cold war.

Adenauer's attitude has the support of influential Western groups and of the countries which are dependent upon the United States and the German Federal Republic, because they hope to get credits from them, and for other reasons.

In view of the threat presented by German militarism the peaceful nations, principally the neighbours of West Germany, are compelled to take precautions.

For many years the Soviet Union has consistently sought to promote Germany's peaceful, democratic development in accordance with the Potsdam Agreements and to prevent the revival of militarism. But all Soviet moves have met with the stubborn resistance of the rulers of the U.S., Britain, France and West Germany.

In view of the mounting military threat from the German Federal Republic, the Soviet Union has recently made a number of new proposals on the German problem. We suggested a gradual reduction of foreign armed forces in Germany, or, better still, their complete withdrawal.

We stand for a "zone of disengagement" of the armed forces. The farther apart they are, the smaller the danger of clashes and conflicts.

The Soviet Union is prepared to withdraw its forces not only from Germany, but from Poland and Hungary, where they are stationed under the Warsaw Treaty, if all the NATO countries will withdraw their troops to their national boundaries and abolish their military bases in other countries.

The Soviet Union supports the Polish plan for an "atom-free zone" in Europe and a reduction of conventional armaments in that zone.

Last November, the Soviet Government approached the United States, Britain and France with a proposal to put an end to the remnants of the occupation regime in Berlin, and make West Berlin a demilitarised free city. This solution of the Berlin problem corresponds to the interests of peace in Europe and would serve to ease international tension.

The German problem would be fundamentally solved by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. There is nothing to justify the fact that to this day, 14 years after the end of the war, no peace treaty has been

signed between Germany and the countries with which it was at war. That, in effect, benefits the people who want the cold war. It is used as an excuse by the Western Powers to keep their troops in the heart of Europe, to maintain an atomic bridge-head there and to prepare a new war, juggling superciliously with Germany and its people as if they were pawns.

The draft peace treaty submitted by the Soviet Union blends measures ensuring the rights of the German people, their full sovereignty and peaceful democratic development with measures necessary to preserve security and peace in Europe.

A peace treaty with Germany would immediately relieve tension in Europe. It would establish a reliable legal basis and cut the ground from under the revenge-seeking trend in Western Germany. It would rid the German people of foreign occupation and would enable them to handle all questions of home and foreign policy on their own.

For its part, the Soviet Union will spare no effort to have the peace treaty concluded. It will work for it consistently and tirelessly. A peace treaty would also serve to solve the Berlin problem on a peaceful and democratic basis. It would serve to make West Berlin a free city and provide the necessary guarantee of non-interference in its affairs. The United Nations Organisation should be deputed to enforce this guarantee. We want negotiations on all these problems, so as to find a sensible solution for them.

Our proposals are in line with this purpose. They help to eliminate many of the causes of tension in the relations between States in the heart of Europe and to strengthen peace.

The peace treaty will mean a big step forward toward German reunification, now hindered by the existing international tension, particularly the tension in the relations between the two German States.

It must be understood that the reunification of Germany is the business of the German people and the German people alone. Since there are two sovereign States today, and neither can be eliminated without touching off a world war, Germany's reunification can only be achieved through negotiations between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. There is no other way.

All sensible people realise that the peaceful reunification of Germany cannot be achieved by abolishing the Socialist gains of the German people in the German Democratic Republic. Germany's unification on terms proposed by Adenauer would jeopardise European security, since it would mean the spread of militarism, revenge-seeking and reaction to the whole of Germany. Neither should we expect to unify Germany by abolishing the regime existing in the German Federal Republic.

It would be wrong to impose conditions on the Germans relating to the reunification of their country. The Germans must settle the issue by themselves. That is why we support the slogan of Germany's democratic groups: "Germans, sit at one table!"

Western propaganda accuses the Soviet Union of opposing German reunification by free elections. We have never objected to free elections. But, again, the issue must be settled by the Germans themselves. We want all questions pertaining to German reunification to be solved by negotia-

tions between the two German States, and not the way Adenauer wants it—through pressure by foreign Powers, through their interference in the domestic affairs of the German people and by swallowing up the German Democratic Republic.

To help the two German States to reunify, we support the reasonable confederation proposal of the G.D.R.* Government as a first step toward establishing a permanent connection between the G.D.R. and the Federal Republic of Germany, and creating all-German organs. If there is any other way whereby the two German States could settle the reunification problem, we are prepared to co-operate in it.

In this connection, we must again mention Chancellor Adenauer, who fears German reunification on a peaceful and democratic basis. His attitude is absolutely incomprehensible.

It is contrary to common sense and to the interests of the German people. Adenauer is the leader of the Christian Democratic Party. It would appear that he should be guided by the evangelical principles, of which his party speaks so much. Yet this "Christian" has a cross in one hand and wants the atom bomb in the other. What is more, he depends on the bomb rather than the cross, although that is contrary to the Christian philosophy and to the national tasks of the German people.

Mr. Adenauer is an elderly and experienced man. Why does he fail to see that not his allies alone, but the Soviet Union as well, possess nuclear arms? It should be borne in mind that these arms can cause great human sacrifice.

Since Western Germany is being turned into an atomic base, population will be the first to suffer in the event of an armed conflict.

If Mr. Adenauer were really pious it would appear that he should follow the Christian canon and show concern for the hereafter, for the "saving of his soul." However, judging by his deeds, there is no hope of his soul ever going to heaven. According to the sacred writings, deeds like his lead one to the infernal regions.

In another part of the world—the Far East—the aggressive policy of the United States in regard to the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving States is the main source of tension.

Some time ago the world watched anxiously how America's aggressive moves threatened to set off a terrible armed conflagration. It was the resolute stand of the Chinese People's Republic and of the other peace-loving forces which averted that threat.

The Pacific Ocean area has become the main proving ground for U.S. nuclear weapons.

All this creates a compelling need for action to avert war, in that region of the globe. The chances appear to be better there than elsewhere, because the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and also India, Indonesia, Burma, and other countries in that area are working for peace. Their joint action for the prohibition of atomic weapons and nuclear tests could, to a very great extent, help to preserve peace in the

*German Democratic Republic.—Ed.

Pacific. Their initiative would be supported by the people of Japan and other countries of the Pacific area.

A zone of peace, above all an atom-free zone, can, and must, be created in the Far East and the entire Pacific Ocean area.

Progressive people have good reason to be pleased with developments in the Middle East. We welcome the national liberation movement of the Arab people and the other people of Asia and Africa who have shaken off colonial oppression. The ousting of foreign imperialist troops from a number of countries in that area is a major triumph of the Arab people and the peace forces. But we must not think that the chances of exacerbation there no longer exist, because the colonialists, driven out of the colonies, will never reconcile themselves to their defeat.

The Western Powers, above all the United States and Britain, are trying to set one group of Arab States against another, are plotting in Iraq and other Arab countries. They are looking for weak spots in order to divide the liberated peoples, especially the peoples of the Arab East.

When a people fights for its national independence against colonial rule, all patriotic forces come together in a united national front.

This was the case during the struggle of the Egyptian and other Arab peoples for liberation from imperialistic oppression. In Egypt, all the national forces joined hands to evict the colonialists from the country and to nationalise the Suez Canal. The national liberation of Egypt was welcomed by all progressive people.

The reactionary clique, which served the imperialists, was overthrown in Iraq, which established an independent republic. The Soviet people and the peoples of the other Socialist countries supported the just struggle of the Arab peoples.

Such prominent leaders of that movement as Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of the United Arab Republic, and Abdel Kerim Kassem, head of the Iraq Republican Government, have won the warmest regard of the Soviet people.

After the colonialists are ousted and the all-national tasks are solved in the main, the people seek a solution to vital social problems. This applies above all to the agrarian and peasant problem and the problems of labour's struggle against capital. Social processes arise within the national liberation movement which inevitably give rise to different opinions about the further development of their respective States.

Our country, like the other Socialist countries, has always supported the national liberation movement. The Soviet Union never interferes, and has no intention of interfering, in the domestic affairs of other countries. Yet we cannot remain silent in face of the campaign being conducted in some countries against progressive people under the spurious guise of anti-Communism. Since there have recently been statements against the ideas of Communism in the United Arab Republic and accusations have been levelled against Communists, I, as a Communist, think it necessary to declare at this congress of our Communist Party that it is wrong to accuse Communists of helping to undermine and divide the national effort in the struggle against imperialism. Quite the contrary. There are no people more resolute and loyal to the struggle against colonialism than the Communists. There are no forces more

resolute in the struggle against imperialism than the forces of Communism. It is no accident that the imperialists are directing their struggle against the Communist movement.

The struggle against Communists and other progressive parties is a reactionary undertaking. Anti-Communist policy does not unite the national forces. It disunites them, and consequently weakens the effort of the nation in defending its interests against imperialism. It is wrong to accuse the Communists of acting against the national interests of the Arab peoples.

It is also naïve to draw a parallel between Communism and Zionism. It may be recalled that Communists, those of Israel included, are fighting against Zionism.

It is not sensible to see "Communist plots" in everything. Problems of social development should be weighed with greater consideration. There are objective laws of social development. They show that within nations there are classes with different interests.

After imperialist oppression is abolished in the colonial countries, the workers want shorter working hours and higher wages; the peasants want more land and an opportunity to enjoy the fruits of their labour; both workers and peasants want more political rights. But the capitalists want to make more profit, and the landowners want to keep their land.

The progressive people want their country to make social progress. They strive to strengthen its national independence and to protect it from imperialist plots. Internal reactionary forces, often spurred on by the imperialists, are resisting all this.

These processes unfolding in the countries which have shaken off the imperialist yoke, do not arise by the will and wish of any party. They arise because there are classes and these classes have different interests. We Communists, and all progressive people, naturally sympathise with those who fight for social justice.

We do not deny that we and some of the leaders of the United Arab Republic have divergent views in the sphere of ideology. But on questions of fighting imperialism, of consolidating the political and economic independence of the countries which have cast off the yoke of colonialism, of fighting the war danger, our positions coincide with their positions.

The difference in our ideological viewpoints should not impede the development of friendly relations between our countries and the joint struggle against imperialism.

Imperialist agents travelling about the Middle East seek to put the fear of Communism into certain people, hoping thereby to gain influence and support for domestic reactionaries. For this reason the people there must be on guard against imperialist designs.

The countries which have achieved their national liberation need—and will continue to need in the future—the support of the Socialist countries and of all progressive people. The Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries are working for closer, friendly relations with them. They render assistance to them, and will do so in the future.

The imperialists use their economic relations with the underdeveloped countries as instruments of blackmail and extortion. They saddle these

countries with military and political conditions. Our country, on the other hand, bases its relations with all States on complete equality and co-operation with no military or political strings attached.

We do not indulge in charity. The Soviet Union renders help on a fair commercial basis. The Socialist countries help the underdeveloped countries to build up their own industry, whereas the United States is trying to sell them consumer goods which have no market at home. The Seven-Year Plan opens up new possibilities for Soviet economic co-operation with the industrially underdeveloped countries.

A new stage has arrived in this struggle of nations for their freedom and independence. The national liberation movement is spreading to all the colonial and dependent countries.

The peoples of Latin America have increased their resistance to American imperialist oppression. The peoples of Asia and Africa are in ferment. The peoples who have won their national freedom want to dispose of their own destiny. Now they need peace more than ever.

The Great Powers must undertake to respect the sovereignty of the nations of the Arab East and Africa, to abandon the use of force in solving controversial issues, and to abstain from interfering in their internal affairs.

In place of the powder keg where adventurers play with fire, we must have a zone of peace and free national development.

Measures designed to improve the situation in the various regions must be combined with an effort to improve the overall international climate.

The task of tasks today is to break the deadlock on the *disarmament question*. The armaments race continues, swallowing up ever more financial and material resources. To raise funds for the production of armaments, capitalist Governments channel the lion's share of their budgets into militarisation and pursue a policy of plundering the working people, acting upon the principle: "My last shirt for a sword."

The need to ban tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons is particularly compelling. Now, when all have recognised that atomic explosions can be detected at any point of the globe, there is no reason to delay the settlement of that issue.

The people of all countries demand a stop to these tests, which pollute the atmosphere of the world with harmful radio-activity, and this demand must be met.

We act upon the principle that relations between States with different social systems must develop on the basis of peaceful co-existence. We and the rulers of the capitalist countries have different views, different world outlooks.

We shall never change our views and have no illusions about our class opponents changing theirs. But this does not mean we should go to war over our divergent views. In each country it is the people themselves who shape their own destiny and choose their path of development. The Soviet Union has no intentions of forcing its path on anyone. We guide ourselves by Lenin's principle that revolutions cannot be exported.

Would it not be better for the leaders of States with different social systems to decide, and to lose no time in so doing, that since we share one planet, and not too big a planet by present engineering standards, it is advisable to live and let live, and not shake your fist at the other fellow all the time, in the shape of atom and hydrogen bombs? We must learn to settle our controversies by means of peaceful negotiation.

It is high time to realise that threats are bound to fail in regard to the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp, and to accept the radical strategic changes in the world situation.

Today all admit the successes achieved by Soviet science and technology, which have blazed man's trail into the cosmos. Such achievements mirror the resources of the Soviet Union, of the world Socialist system. It is plain that if the Soviet Union can launch a rocket hundreds of thousands of kilometres into outer space, it can launch powerful rockets with pin-point accuracy to any part of the globe.

However, our deductions from these facts are quite different from those made by certain groups in the West. The latter view each achievement of science and technology principally from the standpoint of its military potential. After the first atom bomb was developed in the United States, American policy-makers lost no time in claiming world supremacy.

The Soviet Union has no such intentions. We do not use the historic achievements of Soviet science and technology to back up a military policy, nor to dictate our will to other States. We use them to redouble our efforts in the struggle for world peace.

And today, when we hold the advantage in rocket engineering, we again say to the United States, Britain and France: Let's ban for all time the testing, production and use of nuclear and rocket weapons; let's destroy all stockpiles of these lethal weapons; let's use this supreme discovery of human genius exclusively for peaceful purposes, for the common good. Our government is ready to sign an appropriate agreement at any time.

The only sensible policy for the Great Powers to adopt is to proceed to a peaceful settlement of international problems and to start on universal disarmament.

More than a year ago the Soviet Government proposed an East-West meeting of Heads of Government. No progress has been made on this score since then through the fault of the Western Powers. But we feel it to be our duty to the people of all countries to work for this meeting on which all who want peace and security are pinning their hopes.

We have repeatedly had to point to the responsibility borne by the two Great Powers—the Soviet Union and the United States—in preserving the peace.

As regards the Soviet Union, it has on many occasions expressed its sincere desire to normalise relations with the United States, and has backed its words with deeds.

The Soviet Union proposed a 50-year pact of non-aggression. It proposed that the two countries should extend reciprocal trade, promote

cultural relations, and so on, but every time we came up against an outright refusal or veiled resistance.

Our two countries have never had any territorial claims on one another. There are no grounds for clashes between our two peoples. Yet the relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. have long been strained.

We know that many politicians and financiers, Congressmen and newspaper publishers in the U.S. have an interest in maintaining such relations. But the number of people who favour friendly, good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union is growing in the United States. The reception accorded to A. I. Mikoyan in America is vivid proof of this. His visit evoked a manifestation of friendly sentiment among the American people for the people of the Soviet Union.

Most of the Americans he spoke to expressed their sincere and outspoken regard for the Soviet people. They said that they wanted friendship and peaceful co-operation with the Soviet Union. Among them were people of different political and religious views and of different social standing—scientists, cultural workers, businessmen and the general public. Evidently, most Americans no longer believe the anti-Soviet propaganda of the reactionary bourgeois newspapers in the U.S.

The attempts made by some elements to organise provocative acts during Comrade Mikoyan's visit were a total failure, because they did not represent the sentiments and views of the American people.

We welcome the efforts of all the Americans who favour an end to the cold war and support peaceful co-existence and co-operation between all countries.

Friendly feelings for the American people, whose industrial genius and efficiency are known to all the world, are very strong in our country.

There are, of course, quite a few difficulties along the path of peaceful co-existence. In following this path, both sides will have to show a readiness for mutual understanding, great restraint or, if you like, great patience.

Extensive development of world trade could do much to ease international tension and strengthen mutual confidence.

In spite of all the existing obstructions, trade between the Soviet Union and the capitalist countries of Europe and America almost trebled in 1958, as compared with 1950. We are doing good business with Sweden. Long-term trade agreements have been concluded with France and Italy, and our trade with other countries is increasing.

The Soviet economic programme for peaceful development from 1959 to 1965 offers good prospects for the development of Soviet foreign trade with all countries. We can at least double its volume.

We offer the capitalist countries peaceful competition, and our offer goes beyond the period of the Seven-Year Plan. We are drawing up a long-term development plan covering 15 years. This plan, too, is built in principle upon peaceful development and peaceful economic competition.

All nations can see that our plans are plans for peaceful construction. We call on all people to preserve and strengthen peace. For our

part, we shall do everything in our power to ensure peace throughout the world.

Communist Construction in the USSR and the International Working Class Movement

Comrades, our Seven-Year Plan is a powerful moral support for the international workers' and Communist movement, for all democratic forces, in their struggle against reaction and imperialism. By making fresh progress in building Communism, the Soviet people will be doing their international duty by the international working class.

At present, there are Communist and Workers' Parties in 83 countries. Their membership adds up to more than 33 million people. That is a tremendous victory of Marxism-Leninism, a big gain for the working class.

Reactionaries of all hues have waged dozens of campaigns against Communism. But nothing can destroy the Communist movement, for it is an offspring of the class struggle of the proletariat, of all working people, and it represents their interests.

Many Communist Parties in the capitalist countries are now having great difficulties. Reaction has launched a new frenzied attack on them, which, we are sure, will end in another failure; while our fraternal parties will emerge from the test steeled and stronger than ever before.

In organising its offensive against the working-class and Communist movement, international reaction resorts to social demagoguery, deceiving the masses with spurious tales about the so-called "free world." Imperialist ideologists try to dress up the unpopular capitalist system. Prominent bourgeois leaders never fail to assert that the Western capitalist countries are "free countries," and the capitalist world a "free world."

Indeed, there is freedom in the capitalist countries, but for whom? Not for the workers, of course, who have to go into the capitalists' service on any terms to avoid finding themselves in the vast army of people "free" of work. And not for the peasants, who are continuously menaced with being "freed" of their farms through ruin. And not for the intellectuals either, whose creative endeavour is hemmed in by financial dependence upon the moneybags and the "spiritual guidance" of various loyalty commissions. Freedom in the capitalist countries exists for those alone who have money and, consequently, power.

The politicians and ideologists of the "free world" like to profess religious morals. But they ought to know from the religious writings about Christ that when he saw traders and moneylenders haggling in the temple, he took a whip and drove them out.

If capitalists uphold religious ethics, why have they turned the society which they rule into a paradise for the rich and a hell for the poor? And this in spite of the Christian parable which says that a camel is more likely to pass through the eye of a needle than a rich man to go to Paradise! The "free world" is the realm of the dollar, of profit-making

and unbridled profiteering, of cruel exploitation for millions of people in order to enrich a handful of monopolists.

There was a time when, in their struggle against feudalism, bourgeois revolutions proclaimed the enticing slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, but it was proclaimed by the bourgeoisie primarily to elbow aside the aristocracy in order to pave the way for capital. After it had consolidated its rule, it increasingly ignored those slogans.

Today, though they still speculate on the slogan of liberty, equality and fraternity, the imperialists turn more and more frequently to outright dictatorship.

There are sinister signs in the capitalist countries today of an upsurge of reaction and fascism. This is the reactionary path chosen by Western Germany, where the Communist Party has been banned, democratic forces are persecuted, and fascist revenge-seeking organisations are given free rein.

The trend toward open dictatorship has taken shape in France, where the democratic freedoms and the gains of the masses are being abused.

The onslaught of reaction in France, a country known for its democratic traditions, causes concern to all friends of democracy and progress. The military coups in Pakistan and Thailand have shown that an attack is being mounted on the democratic gains of nations that have won national independence.

The forces of reaction are also rearing their heads in a number of other capitalist countries.

We are thus faced with a clear-cut general tendency, which obtains in many capitalist countries, rather than with isolated facts.

The reactionaries are using an old anti-popular weapon—they are doing away with the democratic system and setting up "strong arm" governments. But, just as in the period when fascist dictatorships were established in Italy and Germany, the tendency toward the open dictatorship of the monopoly bourgeoisie is not a sign of strength, but a sign of weakness. Yet it should be borne in mind that, under an unlimited dictatorship, reaction has a better chance of starting a reign of terror and repression, of suppressing all opposition, of indoctrinating the masses to suit its ends, of poisoning them with the scourge of chauvinism, and of freeing its hands for military gambles.

For this reason, the peoples must be vigilant. They must be ever ready to repel the reactionary offensive and the threat of resurgent fascism.

Millions of people usually associate fascism with Hitler and Mussolini. But we must not rule out the possibility that fascism will revive in forms other than those which have already discredited themselves in the eyes of the nations.

Today, when there is a powerful Socialist camp, when the working-class movement has much experience in combating reaction, and when the working class is much better organised, the people have greater possibilities of blocking the advance of fascism.

Broad sections of the people, all the democratic, genuinely national forces, can and must join hands against fascism. In so doing, it is very important to stamp out all vestiges of sectarianism, which is liable to

obstruct the mobilisation of the people against reaction and fascism. The unity of the democratic forces, and above all of the working class, is the most reliable barrier to the fascist threat.

Who obstructs the unity of the working class? Imperialist reaction and its henchmen in the working-class movement, such as Guy Mollet and Spaak, the anti-Communist-minded Social Democratic leaders. We know all these chieftains of anti-Communism by name and do not count on them when we speak of joint working-class action.

Most of the rank-and-file in the Social-Democratic parties are friends of peace and social progress, although their idea of how to win them differs from ours, from the Communist idea. And it is precisely in the struggle against reaction and fascism that Communists and Social Democrats should find a common language. It is high time for the representatives of all the trends in the Labour movement, after casting out the mountebanks of anti-Communism, to sit round one table and work out a mutually acceptable programme of joint working-class action in defence of their interests, in defence of peace.

It is imperative, for the sake of further progress, for the Communist and Workers' Parties to reinforce their ranks ideologically and organisationally, to consolidate them still further on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and to strengthen their fraternal international ties.

The meetings of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in November 1957 showed that the fraternal parties are united in their views. The Declaration of the meeting was approved unanimously by all Communist and Workers' Parties and has come to be a charter of international unity for the world Communist movement. The Declaration condemned revisionism as the main danger, and condemned dogmatism and sectarianism as well. Life has proved the conclusions drawn in the Declaration to be correct. And we are being guided by them at the present time.

Further consolidation has taken place within each Communist Party since the November 1957 meetings. The international Communist movement has also become stronger. The revisionists have failed to turn any of the fraternal parties away from the Marxist-Leninist path. Miserable handfuls of opportunists and individuals who have lost their bearings under the fire of the class enemy have been the only ones to follow them. That scum, which polluted the pure fount of the Communist movement, rose to the surface in the heat of the struggle and was discarded.

The contentions of the revisionists have been refuted by life, by the practical struggle of the working class, by the entire process of social development. The principal revisionist theses — about changes in the nature of capitalism, crisis-free development of the capitalist system, and the peaceful growing of capitalism into Socialism, and so forth — have been dashed to the ground.

The international Communist movement has criticised the views and policies of the Yugoslav revisionists. The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia contend that the Marxist-Leninist parties started an ideological campaign against them because they had refused

to sign the Declaration. But that is utterly false. It was the Yugoslav leadership which, in contradiction to the Declaration, came forward with its revisionist programme, in which it attacked the Marxist-Leninist positions of the international Communist movement. I ask you, could Marxists really have ignored these facts? Of course not. That is why all the parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism have criticised the programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

Our position with regard to the views held by the Yugoslav leadership is clear. We have defined it repeatedly in all frankness, while the Yugoslav leaders keep twisting and turning and evading the truth.

They want to conceal the essence of their differences with the Marxist-Leninists. And this essence is that the Yugoslav revisionists deny the need for international class solidarity, that they have abandoned working-class positions. They are trying to tell the world that there are two blocs in it, two military camps. Yet everybody knows that the Socialist camp, which embraces the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia, is not a military camp but a community of equal nations striving for peace and a better life for the working people, for Socialism and Communism.

The other camp is the imperialist camp, which seeks at any price to maintain its system of oppression and violence and threatens humanity with war. We did not invent these camps. They emerged in the process of social development.

The Yugoslav leaders claim that they stand outside all blocs, above the camps. Yet in point of fact they are in the Balkan bloc, which consists of Yugoslavia, Turkey and Greece. It may be recalled that the last two countries are members of the aggressive N.A.T.O. bloc, and that Turkey is also a member of the Baghdad Pact.

The leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia resent us telling them that they are sitting on two stools. They insist that they are sitting on their own Yugoslav stool. But for some reason this Yugoslav stool is held up by the American monopolies! And it is precisely this "no bloc" position—this neutrality which the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia so greatly extol—that has a distinct whiff of the American monopolies, which keep giving hand-outs to "Yugoslav Socialism." The history of the class struggle knows of no case in which the bourgeoisie has materially or morally supported its class enemy, and in which it has assisted in building Socialism.

The crucial tests of a country's administration is the progress it makes in developing the national economy, in raising the level of the people's culture and well-being.

We Soviet Communists think that our road to Socialism, pointed out to us by great Lenin, is the right one. By following it the Soviet Union has won many victories which have amazed the whole world. All the People's Democracies have followed the road opened up by the October Revolution—Lenin's road—and have also made remarkable progress.

And who has achieved the least results? It is that very Party, that very country whose leaders extol their so-called Yugoslav road as being the only right road. People look at it this way: the best road is the one which leads to the best possible economic and political results in the

shortest time. And if we compare the living standards in the Socialist countries we shall find, as is indicated in published economic materials, that the standard of living is rising much more slowly in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav practice itself refutes the theoretical "discoveries" of the Yugoslav revisionists.

If Yugoslavia is behind in her development, if she does not march, but rather zigzags along the Socialist road, the responsibility for this rests entirely with the revisionist anti-Marxist line of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which has its own special idea about the role of the Party in building Socialism. The Yugoslav revisionists minimise the Party's role and, in effect, reject Lenin's teaching about the Party being the guiding force in the struggle for Socialism.

The Marxist-Leninist Parties are watching the developments in Yugoslavia with concern. The fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia, at the cost of great sacrifice and with Soviet support, liberated themselves from German and Italian occupation, overthrew the rule of their own bourgeoisie, and took to the road of Socialism. Yet now the policy of the Yugoslav leadership, aimed at setting Yugoslavia in opposition to the Socialist camp and the international Communist movement, may lead to the loss of the Socialist gains won by the Yugoslav people.

We have the very friendliest feelings for the fraternal people of Yugoslavia, for the Yugoslav Communists, those heroes of underground and partisan struggle. On a number of questions of foreign policy we hold common views. We shall continue to develop trade with Yugoslavia on a reciprocal basis. We shall work for co-operation with Yugoslavia in all questions of the anti-imperialist struggle, of the struggle for peace, on which our attitudes coincide.

How will matters stand in the Party sphere? That will depend on the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Its leadership has isolated itself from the international Communist movement. Therefore, it is now up to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia to make a turn toward rapprochement with Communist Parties on a Marxist-Leninist basis. That would be in the interests of the Yugoslav people as well.

The Communist movement has dealt revisionism crushing blows. But revisionism is not yet dead. It must be borne in mind that the imperialists will seek in every way to support and rally the revisionists.

There is also the need to combat dogmatism and sectarianism, which impede the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application, and result in contact with the people being lost. Lenin's injunction that the links with the people should be strengthened, that the utmost heed should be paid to the voice of the people, and that it is necessary to stand at their head, is sacred to all of us Communists.

As regards relations between the fraternal Parties within the framework of the international Communist movement, we have always followed Lenin's approach. Lenin taught us that these relations are to be built on the basis of the equality and independence of the national detachments of the international working-class movement, on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. It is precisely because all the Parties have equal rights that they maintain relations of confidence and voluntary

co-operation; that they seek, in a voluntary and conscious way, joint action as component elements of a single great army of labour.

All the Communist Parties are independent and shape their own policies, proceeding on the basis of the concrete conditions in their respective countries. They have achieved successes in their work and are steadily extending their influence, increasing the number of their followers, and acquiring prestige among all sections of the people.

Imperialist ideologists, and the revisionists who take their cue from them, are striving in every way to undermine the growing influence of the Communist Parties and to spread the false story about the Communist movement being "made in Moscow" and about the Communist and Workers' Parties being dependent upon the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The Yugoslav revisionists, who allege that our Party seeks "hegemony" with regard to other Parties, show particular zeal: they went so far as to include a thesis on "hegemony" in their programme. They contend that our Party interferes in the internal affairs of other countries and wants to control other Communist Parties. And the reactionaries are very grateful to the Yugoslav revisionists for the slander.

Anyone who happens to know the Communist movement will have little difficulty in exploding the false story of the international reactionaries and revisionists.

It is ridiculous to think that a political party of the working class, which often has hundreds of thousands, and sometimes millions of members, could be organised in any country from outside. No one will believe, for example, that the Italian Communist Party of two million, the French of nearly 500,000, the Indonesian of 1,500,000, the Indian of nearly 300,000, or the other fraternal Parties have been "established by Moscow" or that their members are "foreign agents."

It was not due to some centre "planting" Communist Parties in all countries that they have come into being. No miracle of that kind is possible. The history of social development reveals that Marxist Parties come into being with the emergence and growth of the working class.

This means that the Communist movement came into being as an objective necessity, that it was born of the very living conditions of the working class in each country.

There are classes in all the capitalist countries and, consequently, there are political parties there which represent their interests.

The Communist Parties are political parties of the working class and they will exist as long as there is the working class.

It is just as naive to think that the millions of people in the Communist Parties can be told from outside what they are to think today and what they are to do tomorrow.

Some say that the "dependence" of the Communist and Workers' Parties on Moscow is confirmed by statements to the effect that the C.P.S.U. stands at the head of the international Communist movement. In doing so they refer to the well-known clause in the Declaration of the Moscow Conference, which says that "the camp of Socialist States is headed by the Soviet Union."

The Communists of the Soviet Union and of all the other countries believe that thereby tribute was paid to our country and to our working class which was, under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by great Lenin, the first to carry out the Socialist revolution, the first to take power.

In these 40-odd years we have travelled a long way along a difficult road of struggle and victory and have built up a powerful State, the bulwark of all the Socialist countries and of the world Communist movement.

We convey our hearty thanks to the fraternal Parties for this appreciation of the historic role of the Soviet Union and the C.P.S.U.

It must be emphasised, however, that there has always been complete equality and independence for all the Communist and Workers' Parties and the Socialist countries in the Communist movement and in the Socialist camp. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union does not control any of the other parties. The Soviet Union does not control any other country.

There are no "superior" and "subordinate" parties in the Communist movement. All the Communist and Workers' Parties are equal and independent. All of them bear responsibility for the destiny of the Communist movement, for its failures and its successes. And each Communist and Workers' Party bears responsibility to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international workers' and Communist movement.

In their struggle for working-class interests, for Socialism, the Communist Parties combine the universal tenets of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete historical and national conditions in their countries. Only a Marxist-Leninist party linked with the working class, with the people of its country, is able to know the concrete conditions of struggle. It alone can work out a political line conforming to these conditions and taking into account the traditions of the working-class movement in its country.

And this is the case in actual fact. All the Communist and Workers' Parties exist and struggle on the basis of complete independence and proletarian internationalism, of voluntary co-operation and mutual assistance. This is how our Party understands the nature of the relations between the fraternal Parties.

As for the Soviet Union, its role, of course, consists, not in controlling other countries, but in having been the first to blaze the trail to Socialism for mankind, in being the most powerful country in the world Socialist system and the first to have entered the period of the comprehensive building of Communism.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was built up by Lenin in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We Soviet Communists have not only mastered Marxism-Leninism, but have defended it against enemies of all shades. Guided by this teaching, the Soviet people, with the Communist Party at their head, have built Socialism in a grim struggle and are striding confidently forward to Communism.

We have always loyally followed the great international teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and shall always do so. Figuratively speaking,

our Communist Party regards itself as one of the advance detachments of the world Communist movement, the detachment which is the first to be scaling the summits of Communism. And on our way to Communism we shall not be stopped by any avalanche or landslide. No one can make us turn aside from the path leading to Communism.

We have always held the view, and we still do, that none must retire to its national "domain" and withdraw into its own shell. We think that the strength of the Socialist camp must be reinforced in all ways and that the unity of the international Communist movement must be further cemented in accordance with the principles adopted by all the fraternal Parties in the Moscow Declaration.

Concern for the solidarity and strength of our ranks is the supreme international duty of every Communist and Workers' Party.

Success in the national cause of the working class is inconceivable without the international solidarity of all its detachments.

We are brought together by the great common purpose of liberating the working people, of fighting for universal peace. We have one common concern—concern for the welfare of the nations, for their prosperity and security, for their happy future, which can only be achieved on Socialist lines. We are united by the great teaching of Marxism-Leninism and by the struggle to put it into practice. We shall always preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We shall fight against opportunists, against revisionists of all shades, and shall always be loyal to the working class. It is in this that we see our international duty to the world Communist and Workers' movement.

IV

New Stage in Communist Construction and Some Problems of Marxist-Leninist Theory

Comrades, now that our country has entered a new historical period of its development, the problems of Marxist-Leninist theory associated with the transition from Socialism to Communism acquire special importance.

There is, first, the question of the *two phases of Communist society* and the laws governing the development of Socialism into Communism.

The founders of scientific Communism—Marx, Engels, Lenin—indicated that, following the overthrow of capitalist and landlord rule, society would pass through two stages. The first would be Socialism, and the second, higher stage classless Communist society.

This Marxist-Leninist prediction of two phases of Communism has been substantiated by the development of Soviet society. The Soviet people have built a Socialist society and have entered a new period, in which Socialism grows into Communism.

Marxist-Leninist theory, and our practical experience in building Socialist society, enable us to draw some important conclusions on the nature of our forward movement to Communism.

First, the transition from the Socialist to the higher stage is a law-governed historical process that cannot be violated or by-passed at will. The building of a Communist society is the ultimate goal of the Marxist-Leninist Parties. But society cannot leap straight from capitalism to Communism without going through the Socialist stage.

"From Capitalism," Lenin wrote, "mankind can pass directly only to Socialism, i.e., to the social ownership of the means of production, and the distribution of products according to the amount of work performed by each individual. Our Party looks further ahead: Socialism must inevitably pass gradually into Communism, upon the banner of which is inscribed the slogan: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" [*Works*, Vol. 24, p. 62].

Some comrades might, of course, suggest that we accelerate the introduction of the principles of Communism. But to pass prematurely to distribution according to needs—at a time when the economic conditions for this do not, as yet, exist, when we have not yet secured an abundance of material values, and when people have not been prepared to live and work in a Communist way—would only impair the work of building Communism.

It should be borne in mind that, with the present level of production, there is not enough of the good things of life for all, and we cannot as yet fully satisfy the requirements of the people. This "equalitarian Communism" would only eat up our stockpiles, make extended reproduction impossible and block successful expansion of the economy.

We must advance step by step, creating the material and spiritual requisites for a methodical transition to Communism.

Secondly, notwithstanding all the differences between the Communist and Socialist phases, there is no wall separating these two stages of social development.

Communism stems from Socialism as its direct continuation. It would be wrong, erroneous, to believe that Communism will somehow appear suddenly on the scene. Communist forms of labour and industrial organisation and also such forms of satisfying the requirements of our people as public catering, boarding schools, kindergartens and day nurseries are already developing on an increasing scale. There are many tangible and visible features of Communism in our society, and they will continue to develop.

There is no set date for our entry into Communism. It is not as if at some given time we shall shut one door and announce: "The building of Socialism is completed" and open another door with the announcement: "We are now in Communism."

The transition from Socialism to Communism is a continuous process. In fact, we are already opening the door into Communist society, for what we are now engaged in is the building of Communism.

The country has entered the period of comprehensive Communist construction, one in which all the material and spiritual conditions for Communism are being created. Communist construction will be completed when we have provided an abundance of everything needed to satisfy the requirements of all our people, when all our people learn to work according to their ability, so as to accumulate and multiply the wealth of the community.

Thirdly, the gradual transition to Communism should not be understood as a slowing-down movement. On the contrary, it is a period of rapid development of modern industry, of large-scale mechanised agriculture, rapid progress in all economic and cultural fields, with the active and conscious participation of the millions of people who are building Communist society. This objective process of Socialism growing into Communism can be accelerated on the basis of the high level of material production attained in the period of Socialism.

There must be no undue haste, no hurried introduction of measures for which the time is not yet ripe. That would lead to distortions and would discredit our cause. But, on the other hand, we must not stop long at what has already been achieved—that would lead to stagnation.

Is the time far off when we shall be in a position fully to satisfy the basic requirements of all Soviet citizens?

Apparently it is not so far off, taking into consideration our immense potentialities for increasing social production and improving cultural standards. But this will not be achieved all at once, by a single act. It will

come step by step, in a consistent way, to the extent that we prepare the material conditions of production.

Full satisfaction, within necessary and reasonable bounds, of the requirements of all Soviet citizens as regards food, housing and clothing is probably a matter of the not-too-far-distant future.

It does not require very much time to organise, let us say, free lunches and dinners for schoolchildren, ample kindergarten, nursery, and boarding-school accommodation for all, with society meeting the expense.

As for the adult population, here we must bear in mind that man's general requirements are not without limits. A person cannot consume more bread, say, and other foods than his organism needs, and there are also definite limits in clothing and housing. Of course, when we speak of satisfying people's requirements, we have in mind not whims, not claims to luxury, but wholesome consumption of goods commensurate with the normal needs of a cultured person.

It will take a longer time for people to acquire an ingrained urge to work in accordance with their abilities. Until then, society cannot dispense with a certain regulation of working time, in order that every able-bodied person may contribute a definite amount of labour to the production of the values the community needs.

The country's fundamental practical task today is to *build up the material and technical basis of Communist society and secure a further powerful expansion of the Socialist productive forces.*

Why is this now our principal task in economic development? The present level of Socialist production does not, as yet, enable us to create the abundance of material and cultural values necessary to satisfy the growing requirements of our people and ensure their harmonious development. But Communism is impossible without that. Consequently, our first job is further to develop the forces of production, to step up the production of material values. Communism is feasible only if we surpass the output levels of the leading capitalist countries and raise labour productivity to a level that is well above that of capitalism.

Building the material and technical basis of Communism implies, first and foremost, a highly developed, modern industry, total electrification, scientific and technical progress in every branch of industry and agriculture, comprehensive mechanisation and automation of all production processes, maximum utilisation of new power sources and our rich natural resources, new synthetics and other materials, a higher cultural and technical level for the people, a further improvement in the organisation of production, and higher labour productivity.

It would be an over-simplification to believe that when we catch up with the United States from the economic point of view this will signify the completion of the building of Communism. No, that will not be the final goal—only a decisive stage in the competition with capitalism.

We are competing with America, but we do not regard America as a standard of economic development. For although it has a highly developed economy, the United States is dominated by the vice-ridden capitalist mode of production and distribution. While it has a profusion of every kind of goods, it also has millions of unemployed, and millions with in-

adequate incomes, who cannot satisfy even their most elementary needs. The Communists do not want to imitate that order of things. On the contrary, we want to put an end to that injustice. And if America's production level is taken as a measuring rod for our own economic progress, it is only in order to compare this country with capitalism's leading Power.

When we win in this economic competition with the U.S., we shall only have completed the initial phase of the building of Communism. The economic level reached in this phase will not be the end of our road, but only a halfway station, at which we shall overtake capitalism's most developed country, leave it behind and push ahead.

As our productive forces expand, Socialist relations of production, which are based on comradely co-operation, friendship and mutual assistance of all members of society, will reach higher levels, too. In our country, social labour has already become the expression of new Socialist relationships between men, the index of fine moral qualities.

And as Socialist production is expanded on a new material and technical basis, and as education is more closely linked with productive work, the essential distinctions between mental and physical labour will gradually disappear.

The all-round development of our people will transform labour into man's prime want. This will be made easier by the forthcoming reduction of working hours and further improvement of working conditions. When every branch of industry is automated, when man becomes the master of the machine, he will need to devote less time and energy to producing the things he requires.

Labour, which at times is still arduous and tiring, will become a source of joy and pleasure for a harmoniously developed healthy person.

In laying emphasis, in the coming period, on the building of the material and technical base of Communism, we proceed, in every respect, from Marxism-Leninism and the experience of the Soviet Union and all the Socialist countries.

Social development confronts us with another major problem of scientific Communism, namely, *distribution of the material and cultural values produced by society among all its members.*

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that, in social development, distribution is not a determining, but a derivative, factor and that its forms and principles depend on the mode and quantity of production.

Under Socialism, distribution is, basically, founded on the principle of "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." This means that the biggest share of the material and cultural product is distributed in accordance with the labour contribution each member of society makes to social production.

We must, of course, bear in mind that even under Socialism a considerable and increasing portion of the material and cultural product is distributed irrespective of the quantity and quality of labour contributed—that is, free of charge.

Society spends immense sums on free education, free health services, pensions, family grants, club services, libraries, and so on.

The following facts show the part Government and collective farm expenditure plays in improving our people's living standard. There are about 100 million workers, office workers and collective farmers engaged in social production. Some 20 million pensioners are supported by the State, collective farms and public organisations. Five million children are accommodated in kindergartens, nurseries and children's homes; 3,300,000 students in higher and specialised secondary and vocational training schools receive State allowances and hostel accommodation. Boarding-school pupils are fully provided for by the State.

Our young pioneer camps, summer play-grounds and tourist camps accommodate 5,600,000 children annually. Over three million factory and office workers and collective farmers go for treatment or rest to sanatoria or holiday homes every year, and the expense is borne by the social insurance fund and the collective farms. In addition, Government grants are being paid to about seven million mothers without breadwinners and mothers of large families.

In future, this type of State expenditure will increase, for as we advance to Communism, society will provide more facilities for each of its members, from birth to old age.

At present, the chief criterion of the share every citizen receives from the social product, is his labour measured in quality and quantity. Lenin pointed out: "Until we reach the 'higher' phase of Communism, Socialists demand the most *stringent* control by society and *by the State* over the amount of labour and the amount of consumption." [Works, Vol. 25 p. 441.]

This country passed through a period of "war Communism," when, as a temporary measure, we were obliged to abandon the principle of distribution according to work and adopt "distribution according to mouths." This was not due to abundance, but to an acute shortage of food and consumer goods.

By the most stringent discipline in food distribution, the State was able to prevent wholesale famine and supply the Red Army and the urban population with regular, if very meagre rations—at times only an eighth of a pound of bread a day.

That method of distribution, however, could not be regarded as normal. Its defects came to the surface immediately the country tackled the job of economic rehabilitation and development. Lenin forthrightly stated that without a material incentive giving every worker an interest in the results of his work, there could be no question of raising the country's productive capacity or of building a Socialist economy and leading the millions forward to Communism.

With the transition to peaceful construction, monetary remuneration for all industrial, office and other workers was introduced. Its underlying principle was distribution according to work, and with the triumph of the collective farm system this principle has been firmly established in the countryside as well.

In articles and lectures, some scientific workers allege that distribution according to work signifies application of bourgeois law to a Socialist society. They ask whether the time has not come to shift from this

principle to equitable distribution of the social product among all working members of society. We cannot agree with this.

True, Marx and Lenin spoke of a residue of "bourgeois law" being inevitable under Socialism. However, what they had in mind was the juridical form, which is carried over from the old society and disappears under Communism.

Socialist distribution, on the principle of equal pay for equal work, means that one and the same legal criterion is applied to different people. That uniform and equal criterion is labour.

Socialism precludes class inequality. There remains only the inequality of the shares of the social product distributed. Inasmuch as different people have different skills, talents and abilities, and different sizes of families, it is only natural that, with equal pay for equal work, they have unequal incomes. But that is inevitable in the first phase of Communist society.

We should not confuse legal forms with the substance of the social relationships of which they are the expression.

Bourgeois law recognises individual private ownership of the means of production, whereas Socialism makes them public property. This is a clear break with bourgeois law. Under Socialism all people stand in equal relationship to the means of production and are paid according to their work. Under Socialism, the principle applied to all able-bodied members of society is: he who does not work, neither shall he eat.

Under capitalism distribution is, in effect, based not on work, but primarily on capital, and is regulated by the laws of value, profit and rent. For that reason, the biggest incomes go not to those who work more, but to those who have more capital.

It will thus be seen that there is a fundamental difference in the way the values produced are distributed under capitalism and Socialism.

The Socialist principle of distribution according to work is based on the understanding that, in the Socialist stage, equal distribution is impossible. Distribution according to work is the only reasonable and just principle under prevailing conditions. We cannot disregard the fact that levelling would lead to an unjust method of distribution: the bad worker and the good would receive an equal share, which would be to the advantage of slackers. The material incentive for people to work better, raise productivity and produce more, would be dampened.

Levelling would mean not transition to Communism, but the discrediting of Communism.

Distribution according to work ensures a material incentive, an interest in the results of production. It stimulates productivity, higher skill and technical progress. It also performs an important educational function by accustoming people to Socialist discipline and making work universal and obligatory. Socialism fosters enthusiasm for work and the moral stimulus acquires ever greater importance. Labour becomes an ingrained need for the millions who make up Socialist society, thanks to material incentives and as a result of a higher degree of consciousness and by virtue of habit.

Regulated distribution of the social product among the members of

society disappears only under Communism, when the productive forces have reached a stage of expansion adequate to provide an abundance of all the necessary consumer goods and when all people voluntarily, and irrespective of their share of material values, work to the full measure of their ability, knowing that this is necessary for the common good.

In Communist society there will, of course, be planned and organised allocation of labour among the various branches of production, and social regulation of working time in accordance with the specific features of the different production processes. The machine industry has a set rhythm that calls for a corresponding arrangement of the work.

There is a vulgarised conception of Communist society as a loose and unorganised, anarchist mass of human beings. No, it will be a highly organised and closely co-ordinated commonwealth of working men and women. For the machine to be properly operated, every worker will have to perform his production job and his social functions in a definite time and according to a definite system. The highly mechanised and automated industry of the future will not require long hours of work. There will be ample time for study, art, literature, sport and so on.

The question of how to develop and bring closer together the collective farm and public forms of Socialist property acquires great theoretical and practical importance in the building of Communism.

It should be perfectly clear that in the future the collective-farm Co-operative, and State forms of property will merge into an integral Communist property. Why then, it might be asked, are we not pressing for them to be merged, and why do we consider that in the present stage we must develop collective-farm Co-operative property side by side with State property?

Forms of property cannot be changed at will. They develop in accordance with economic laws and depend on the nature and level of the productive forces. The collective farm system fully accords with the present level and development requirements of the productive forces in agriculture. It makes for the most effective use of modern farm machinery, which is impossible under parcelled-out small peasant farming.

Now that the collective farms are being directly supplied with powerful modern machinery, they are increasing output at a more rapid pace.

A number of branches of agriculture were lagging behind in the recent past, not because the collective-farm system was hampering expansion of the productive forces, but because inadequate use was being made of the potentialities and advantages it offered. What we have achieved in agriculture in the past five years is conclusive proof that the collective farm form of production relations, far from having exhausted its potentialities, serves—and will continue to do so for a long time to come—to enhance the productive forces in agriculture.

The further development of the productive forces will tend to raise the degree of Socialisation of collective farm production and bring collective-farm Co-operative property into closer approximation with public property, gradually obliterating the line dividing the two.

This is shown by the following characteristic processes:

First, uninterrupted increase of collective farm non-distributable assets,

which are the economic basis for the continued expansion of collective farm production and the gradual approximation of collective farm and public property.

Second, enlargement of collective farm production to include more and more branches of agriculture. As production grows, the farms will be in a position to satisfy more fully the requirements of their members not only as regards bread but also as regards meat, milk, butter, potatoes and other vegetables, and fruit, all of which will come not from the unproductive household plots, but from the collective farm as such with its immeasurably higher standards of productivity.

Third, production ties and various forms of co-operation between farms. These are being more widely applied, and will inevitably develop on a bigger scale still in the future. Joint construction of power stations, irrigation canals, processing capacities, the manufacture of building materials and road building—all these require more systematic co-ordination of the efforts of a number of collective farms.

Fourth, the electrification, mechanisation and automation of agriculture will lead to the pooling—in a certain sense even the merging—of collective farm production facilities with State and public facilities. Agricultural labour will gradually become a variety of industrial labour.

The merging of collective farm and public forms of property is historically inevitable. It will be brought about not by dispensing with collective farm property, but by raising its level, with the aid and support of the Socialist State.

The merging of collective-farm Co-operative property with State property into integral public property is not a simple organisational and economic measure, but is the solution of the very important problem of bridging the essential differences between town and country.

In the coming seven years we intend to achieve a substantial increase in agricultural output and on this basis radically to improve rural cultural and welfare facilities. The Party's subsequent aim will be to convert the collective farm villages into modern urban-type communities, supplied with all the latest municipal and cultural facilities.

Parallel with these problems of economic development, we are squarely faced with the *problems of the political organisation of society, the State and administration in the period of comprehensive building of Communism.*

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that under Communism the State will wither away and that the functions of public administration will no longer have a political character, but will pass to the direct administration of the affairs of society by the people.

But we should not take an oversimplified view of the process. We should not imagine that the withering away of the State will resemble the falling of leaves in autumn, when the trees are left bare.

The withering away of the State, if we approach the question dialectically, implies the development of the Socialist State into Communist public self-administration. For under Communism, too, there will remain certain public functions similar to those now performed by the State, but their nature, and the methods by which they will be exercised, will differ from those obtaining in the present stage.

The chief trend in the development of the Socialist State is the maximum promotion of democracy, drawing the broadest sections of the population into the management of all national affairs, enlisting all citizens to share in the supervision of economic and cultural developments.

Social-democratic theoreticians and revisionists seek to discredit and vilify Socialist democracy. As they understand it, "democratisation" implies renunciation of the leading role of the working class and its party under Socialism, and a return to the forms of bourgeois democracy.

Without this, in their view, there can be neither democracy nor Socialism. For them democracy means an opportunity to make grandiloquent parliamentary speeches, bring the various parties into political combinations, make a show of "free elections," which are no more than a screen for the omnipotence of capital and the actual disfranchisement of the people.

For us, democracy means genuine government by the people, it implies maximum scope for the activity and initiative of the masses, self-government of the people.

It is already clear that many functions of our Government agencies will gradually pass to public organisations. Take, for instance, certain aspects of our cultural services. It is not at all obligatory that they remain under the control of Government organisations. Public organisations can handle them just as successfully.

Experience also suggests the need to modify the organisation of our health services, including health resort facilities. Apparently we are approaching a point when more and more of the public health services in the towns should come under the trade unions, and, in the countryside, at the present stage, directly under the local Soviets.

Hitherto, the sports movement was supervised by a Government agency, the Committee on Physical Culture and Sports. Now we have found a more rational structure in which public bodies that have an interest in the sports movement will play a decisive part. There is to be a union of voluntary sports societies, a public, not Governmental, organisation.

Questions relating to public order and the rules of Socialist human relations should likewise come increasingly under the jurisdiction of non-Governmental organisations.

There are now no cases in the Soviet Union of people being tried for political offences. That is doubtlessly a big achievement, one that testifies to the unparalleled political unity of our people, to their solid support of the Communist Party and Soviet Government.

But there are still quite a few cases when public order is violated, and this must be resolutely combated. Can the Soviet public deal with these violators of socialist law and order? Of course it can. Our public organisations are well equipped to cope with the job. Their capacities and means are no less adequate than those of the militia, the Courts and the prosecuting authorities.

We are approaching a situation when the functions of safeguarding public order and security will be performed, parallel with such Govern-

ment agencies as the militia and the courts, by public organisations. That process is now being carried out. We have drastically reduced the size of the militia and very considerably cut down the State security bodies.

Socialist society forms such voluntary organisations for safeguarding public order as the people's militia, courts of honour and so forth. They will employ new methods and will follow new patterns in the performance of public functions. The duty of the detachments of voluntary people's militia should be to keep public order in their respective communities and to see that the rights and interests of all citizens are properly respected and protected.

It is time more attention were paid to the courts of honour. Their job should be chiefly prophylactic—the prevention of all manner of misdemeanours. And they should not confine themselves to questions of production, but deal with infringements of our moral code, with cases of improper behaviour by members of the collective who disregard accepted standards.

With the courts of honour actively functioning and with members of the public delegated to ensure public order, it will be much easier to combat transgressors. It will be possible to reveal a transgressor not when he disobeys the law or commits a punishable crime, but when he deviates from the standards of public conduct in a way that might lead to offences against society. Public opinion could exert a timely influence on such persons and curb their law-breaking propensities.

The need is for measures that will prevent, and subsequently rule out altogether, the carrying out of acts against the community. The principal thing here is prevention, education.

Of course, definite functions will still be vested in the courts, the militia and the prosecuting authorities. They will continue to function in order to exert a corrective influence on persons who persistently refuse to submit to the standards of Socialist conduct and are not amenable to persuasion.

The transfer of certain State functions to public organisations should not be carried out with undue haste. In some cases it will be done more resolutely, while in others we shall take only the first, exploratory steps in order to train people to safeguard public order themselves.

It stands to reason that the transfer to public bodies of certain functions now being performed by government agencies does not imply a weakening of the role of the Socialist State in the building of Communism. The fact that public organisations will take over some of the duties now being performed by government agencies will tend to broaden and strengthen the political foundation of Socialist society and will make for the further development of Socialist democracy.

The fact that the Soviet system rests on unbreakable foundations is appreciated not only by us, Communists, and by the Soviet people in general. It is admitted even by people who come here to see whether the Soviet system is not falling apart, and who go back with sour faces because what they have seen is not at all to their liking. They still hope that at some future time the Soviet State will be weakened. But the prospects the future is holding out for our country are brighter than ever.

In the future the Soviet State will be in a position to concentrate more attention on developing the economy, the material basis of our system.

"Under the bourgeois system," Lenin said, "the economy is run by the bosses, not by government agencies. In our country, economic development is our common cause. For us it is the most interesting branch of politics." [*Works*, vol. 32, pp. 406-7.]

The tasks of the Socialist State in the defence of peace, in safeguarding the country against the threat of armed attack by the imperialist Powers, are of special importance and scope. As long as the Western Powers maintain their aggressive military blocs, it is incumbent on us to strengthen and perfect our valiant armed forces, which stand guard over our people's impressive achievements in the sphere of peaceful labour.

We should strengthen the State security services, whose functions are directed primarily against imperialist agents smuggled into the country. We should also strengthen the other agencies whose mission it is to frustrate the provocative actions and designs of our imperialist enemies. Those enemies are spending enormous sums on subversion against Socialist countries. How, then, can we abolish organs whose prime purpose is to safeguard the security of the Socialist State? That would be criminal folly.

The Yugoslav revisionists criticise our Party for paying so much attention to strengthening the Soviet State, alleging that this does not accord with the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the State will wither away.

As I have already pointed out, no one is now being kept in prison for political reasons. It would be a good thing if the Yugoslav leaders, with their penchant for disquisitions about the withering away of coercive agencies, were to release all the Communists now in prison for having disagreed with the new programme of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and for holding dissenting opinions about the building of Socialism and the role of the Party.

Leninism teaches us that the State will wither away only with the complete triumph of Communism. To weaken the Socialist State in the present conditions would be tantamount to helping our enemies. The imperialists cannot crush us now, but the revisionists are inviting us, in effect, to disarm, to abolish the State organs that ensure the country's defence, and to abandon ourselves to the tender mercies of our enemies.

The functions of defending our Socialist country, now entrusted to the State, can be dispensed with only when the danger of an imperialist attack on the Soviet Union or its allies is completely removed.

Now that the building of Socialism is no longer confined to one country and there exists a world Socialist system, *new theoretical problems have arisen in the struggle for the victory of Socialism and Communism.*

Not so long ago the question was being posed and discussed in the Communist movement of whether Socialism could be built in one country separately, of whether its victory would be complete and final.

When the Soviet Republic was only just launching out on the building of Socialism, and when, for many people, the country's further path was shrouded in the mist of the future, Lenin gave the people a clear and

heartening perspective. He said we had "... all that is necessary for the purpose of building a complete Socialist society." [*Works*, vol. 33, p. 428.]

Unswervingly guided by Lenin's directions and inspired by the Communist Party, the Soviet people, constantly beset by the threat of a capitalist military onslaught, worked perseveringly to build a Socialist society, advancing along uncharted paths to the complete triumph of Socialism and bringing it about.

But that was not yet final victory. For Marxists understand the final victory of Socialism to mean its triumph on an international scale. Having built Socialism, our country remained for a long time the world's only Socialist State, living in a hostile capitalist encirclement. It could not consider itself fully guaranteed against armed intervention, against the danger of a forcible restoration of capitalism by international reaction, for the capitalist States then surrounding the land of Socialism were much stronger, economically and militarily.

The world situation has changed radically since then. The Soviet Union is no longer in a capitalist encirclement. There are two world social systems: capitalism, whose day is drawing to a close, and Socialism, a full-blooded and growing system that has the support of the workers of all lands.

The Soviet Union, like every other Socialist country, is not guaranteed against the possibility of imperialist aggression. But the relation of real forces in the world today is such that we shall be able to repel any attack by any enemy.

There is no power in the world that can re-establish capitalism in this country or crush the Socialist camp. The danger of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union is ruled out. And this means that the triumph of Socialism is not only complete but final.

It can therefore be said that the question of building Socialism in one single country and its complete and final victory has been decided by the course of the historical development of society.

The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the formation of a world Socialist system immeasurably strengthen the forces of the international working-class movement and open up new vistas for it. The brilliant scientific prediction Vladimir Ilyich Lenin made in his last pronouncement is now coming true:

"In the last analysis," he said, "the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And it is precisely this majority that, during the past few years, has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest shadow of doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of Socialism is fully and absolutely assured." [*Works*, Vol. 33, p. 458.]

How will the Socialist countries continue their advance toward Communism? Can we envisage a situation in which one of the Socialist countries passes to Communism and introduces Communist principles of

production and distribution, while other countries are left trailing behind, somewhere in the early stages of Socialist construction?

That prospect is highly improbable, if we take into account the laws governing the development of the Socialist system of economy. From the theoretical standpoint it would be more correct to assume that by successfully employing the potentialities inherent in Socialism the Socialist countries will more or less simultaneously pass to the higher phase of Communist society.

We proceed from the fact that the Socialist system of economy is subject to new laws of development, laws unknown to human society in the past.

For instance, the law operating under imperialism is uneven economic and political development of different countries. The course of development under that system is such that some countries are able to push ahead at the expense of others, which they oppress and exploit. To keep the backward countries in dependence and subjugation, they take care to safeguard their privileged position.

The economic law operating under Socialism is balanced, proportional development, with the result that countries economically backward in the past are able rapidly to make up for lost time and raise their economic and cultural levels by drawing on the experience, co-operation and mutual assistance of other Socialist countries. In this way the economic and cultural progress of all the Socialist countries is evened out.

There is no doubt that with the further growth and strengthening of the world Socialist system, all the Socialist countries will develop with increasing success. The conditions necessary for their transition from the first stage of Communism to the second will be created at an increasingly rapid pace.

We have only to recall the brilliant way practice has confirmed Lenin's proposition that some of the formerly backward countries, with the support of the advanced Socialist States, can stride over definite stages of development and advance to Communism without having to go through the capitalist stage.

Everyone can now see the immense Socialist achievements of the peoples of Kazakhstan and Central Asia, who at the time of the Socialist revolution had either not reached the capitalist stage or were only just entering it. They did not have to go through the entire tormenting stage of capitalist development. They were able to by-pass that stage and effect the changeover to Socialism with the support and assistance of the more advanced Socialist nations, notably the Russian Socialist nation.

Separate mention should be made of the Mongolian People's Republic which, by-passing the capitalist stage, has long since set foot on the Socialist path and has made impressive progress in the economic and cultural fields.

In surveying the prospect of mankind's advance to Communism, we must bear in mind the tremendous variety of historical conditions obtaining in the different countries, and this is bound to produce specific methods, patterns and forms of applying the general laws of mankind's forward movement to Communism. But what must be emphasised here

is that the principal, determining factor in the advance of all countries to Communism is the laws common to all of them, not their specific manifestations.

Marxism-Leninism requires an ability to apply the theory of scientific Communism to the concrete conditions of each individual country at different stages of its development.

The Yugoslav leaders have made voluminous allegations that the Communist Parties are coming out against them because they, the Yugoslav leaders, take as their starting point in building Socialism the features peculiar to their own country, and do not emulate the example and experience of other Socialist countries. That, of course, is a perversion of the truth.

The Marxist-Leninist parties recognise that every country has its own specific features of Socialist development. But that does not mean that we can go forward to Socialism by some other road—one that lies to the side of the general path pointed out by Marxism-Leninism. What have to be taken into consideration are the specific features of the situation and period in which this or that country is advancing to Socialism. For instance, certain steps in socialist construction taken in the past in the Soviet Union cannot be mechanically transplanted to other countries.

All the Socialist countries are building Socialism, but not in a stereotyped way.

The Communist Party of China is employing many original forms of Socialist construction. But we have no disagreements with it, nor can there be any disagreement.

The Yugoslav revisionists are now concentrating their fire on the Chinese People's Republic, spreading all sorts of inventions about alleged differences between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. Well, there is an old Russian saying about wishful thinking: "A hungry man always thinks of bread." The revisionists are searching for differences between our Communist Parties, but their illusory hopes are doomed to failure.

We are in full and complete agreement with our brother party in China, though in many respects its methods of building Socialism do not resemble our own. But we know that in China there are specific features in the historical development, size of population, level of production and national culture. It would be a mistake to ignore these specific features and to copy what is good for one country but unsuitable for another.

Why have we no differences with the Communist Party of China? Because we share the same class approach and class understanding of problems. The Chinese Communist Party stands four-square on class, Marxist-Leninist positions. It is waging a struggle against the imperialists and exploiters and working to re-fashion life along Socialist lines. It abides by the principle of international proletarian solidarity and is guided by Marxism-Leninism.

The chief consideration is to maintain and cement class solidarity in the struggle against capitalism, for the liberation of the working class.

for the building of Socialism. And on this subject there is no divergency, no conflicting conceptions among Communists, nor can there be. That is the main point on which we differ from the revisionists.

The question of methods and practice in Socialist construction is the domestic affair of each country. We have no controversy with the Yugoslav leaders about the organisation of workers' councils, or on any other matter relating to Yugoslavia's internal affairs. When the declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Socialist countries was being signed, there were no divergencies and no controversies on these points.

We can say to the Yugoslav revisionists: Don't look for cracks where there aren't any. Presumably, you want to encourage yourselves and mislead the Yugoslav people by asserting that there are differences, not only between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, but also between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic. It won't work. You will never see such differences. The Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China are doing everything to strengthen the friendship of the two great Socialist countries still further.

For the international working-class movement and for the triumph of Communism the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are what sunshine and warmth are for plants, for life on earth. And just as life itself is limitless in its progress, is limitless in its multifarious manifestations, so Marxism-Leninism is limitless in its development and enrichment by new experience and new propositions.

V

The Communist Party — the Leading and Organising Force of the Soviet People in the Struggle for the Triumph of Communism

Comrades, the period that has gone by since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. is characterised by the continued growth of our Party, the strengthening of its unity and the still greater solidarity of the Soviet people in their support for the Party.

In carrying out the momentous decisions of the 20th Congress, the Party established still closer ties with the masses and accumulated new experience in political leadership and organisation.

During this period the Party carried out a series of major measures in home and foreign policy which have helped to enhance the strength and prestige of the Soviet Union, have contributed to the welfare of the people and have strengthened the world Socialist camp and world peace.

The Party has consistently and steadfastly adhered to Lenin's precepts on the need for a creative approach to all the problems of Communist construction, the ability to single out at every given stage the main, decisive link in the whole chain of historical development, the ability to see the prospect ahead, mobilise the masses, and boldly and resolutely discard what is obsolete and the routine that impedes our forward movement. The victories our Party has won and is continuing to win are due to its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and its unbreakable unity with the people.

At its plenary meetings the Party's central committee has systematically examined the pressing problems of the building of Communism. It has submitted to nation-wide discussion such major measures as the reorganisation of the management of industry and construction, the reorganisation of the machine and tractor stations and the further development of the collective farm system, closer links between the school and life and the reorganisation of public education.

By taking counsel with the people, by drawing on its collective wisdom and wealth of experience, the Party frames and puts into effect measures of the utmost importance which speed up our advance.

While carrying out the decisions of the 20th Congress, the Party has continued its work of re-establishing and extending the Leninist standards of Party life and the principle of collective Party leadership, promoting in every way the creative activity of the Party members and of the Soviet people in general.

The central committee is guided in all its activities by a cardinal tenet of Leninism, namely that a policy based on principle is the only correct one.

Implementation of the Party's general line was stubbornly resisted by the anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov, Bulganin and Shepilov, who resorted to the vilest methods of factional struggle and splitting tactics in an attempt to undermine Party unity, to disrupt the fulfilment of the decisions of the 20th Congress and to divert the Party and the country from the Leninist path.

Having lost contact with reality, and being divorced from the people and the Party, this anti-Party group regarded the development of Soviet society in a bureaucratic light. They opposed all the important measures the Party introduced in pursuance of the decisions of the 20th Congress.

They opposed the very measures that enabled us to make such headway in industry, agriculture and the people's well-being. In foreign policy, they opposed the measures that enabled us to ease international tension and strengthen peace.

The Party, and the entire Soviet people, unanimously approved the decisions of the June* plenary meeting of the central committee of the C.P.S.U., at which this anti-Party group was exposed and ideologically routed. Now everyone can see how right the Party and its central committee were in resolutely condemning this despicable group of factionalists and dissidents and administering a stern rebuff to them.

Having routed this anti-Party group, the Party united its ranks still more closely round the central committee, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

In our Leninist Party the Soviet people see their tried and tested leader and teacher, and in its far-seeing guidance they find the guarantee of fresh victories for Communism.

The people's boundless faith in the Communist Party has found striking expression in the growth of its membership, and the finest men and women of the working class, the collective farm peasantry and the Soviet intelligentsia are joining the Party. At the present time the Party has over 8,239,000 members and candidate members, or 1,023,000 more than at the time of the 20th Congress. In the past few years there has been a considerably bigger influx of workers and collective farmers, and they now comprise nearly two-thirds of the new members.

The Party comes to its 21st Congress more solidly united around its Leninist central committee than ever before, and capable of accomplishing the enormous tasks involved in building Communist society.

The drive to fulfil the Seven-Year Plan calls for the mobilisation of all our forces and for still higher standards in the Party's organisational and educational work, for this plan represents a new, epoch-making objective in our advance. And to attain this objective we must muster our forces and properly allocate and thoroughly prepare them for a long forward stride.

Our congress is working out a great plan of Communist construction

* L.e. in 1957—Ed.

for the next seven years. The Party charts the major targets, the general strategic line in this period of history. After the plan has been adopted, each republic, region, territory and district, each mill, factory, construction project, collective and State farm and research centre will, to use a figurative expression, have to define the summit which they will have to reach in order to make their biggest contribution to the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the seven-year programme. And it is to the accomplishment of these very definite tasks that all the organisational and ideological work of Party organisations should now be geared.

What is particularly needed now is concreteness and singleness of purpose in all our work, and a thorough knowledge of what has to be done and of how to do it. General talk and general appeals are of no use whatsoever.

In explaining to the masses what the struggle for Communism implies, our Party indicates the concrete goals that have to be reached and, with this end in view, organises and directs the efforts of every collective body, of all the people.

The success of the Seven-Year Plan will be decided directly at the factories and construction projects, the collective and State farms, the scientific and research institutions.

In this connection, a much bigger role devolves upon local Party bodies and basic Party organisations. It will be their duty to build up in every factory, collective farm and office an atmosphere of constructive effort and enthusiasm.

The most important thing is to make the best use of the valuable material resources. It should be brought home to every single worker that we can overtake and surpass the leading capitalist countries in *per capita* output only if we surpass their productivity levels in industry and agriculture. At the present time, industry in the United States is working at a productivity level approximately two or two-and-a-half times higher than ours, and about three times higher in agriculture. We are in a position to catch up with the United States and to overtake it in productivity in the not too far distant future. Party organisations must bring into action everything that will help toward that goal.

There can be no doubt that our workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, who are working for themselves, for their society, will display the creative energy and initiative needed to exceed the productivity levels of the American worker and farmer, who live in a society of exploiters. In our country higher productivity will be achieved by efficient use of the latest achievements of science and engineering, by applying modern techniques for comprehensive mechanisation and automation which will make industrial and agricultural work easier.

And a significant factor in this is the steadily increasing degree of Communist consciousness among our people.

That must be brought home in a way that is understandable to the collectives of all our industrial, agricultural and building enterprises, to every worker and collective farmer.

In order to produce more, of better quality and at lower cost, every worker in industry and in agriculture must apply progressive techniques

so as to get the most out of his machine, installation, tractor or combine harvester.

Concreteness and singleness of purpose are equally essential in our work of organisation and ideological education. In urging the fulfilment of our Communist construction plans, Party organisations, propagandists and lecturers must explain, clearly and simply, what Communism means and what immense benefits it will bring the people. Every manifestation of Communism must be given the utmost support and encouragement.

Marxist-Leninist theory, the foundation of our ideology, is indissolubly associated with human life and endeavour. The high ideals of Communism are inseparable from the work of the men and women who produce all material values.

Communist society has always been the cherished dream of working people, but in order to make that dream a reality we should not seal ourselves off from life, for we must not overlook the fact that the chief factor in building Communism is the production of material values that make life better and brighter. Communist ideals can be made a reality only in a society enjoying an abundance of material and cultural benefits. That is why, when we discuss our great plans for building Communism, we emphasise the primary importance of expanding the production of metal, machinery, oil, electric power, cereals, meat, butter, clothing, footwear and the need to build more homes.

The immense appeal of our Communist ideology lies in its intimate association with the life and work of the people and with social development.

Comrades, our Party and Government personnel are destined to play a part of paramount importance in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan. Much has been done since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. in educating and promoting new personnel. As a result of the reorganisation of the management of industry and construction, many leading executives of the former Ministries and central departments have gone to the economic regions to work in the economic councils or in factories and on construction projects. Tens of thousands of skilled technicians and experienced organisers have taken up work in agriculture.

But much remains to be done in the training and allocation of personnel. We should promote to responsible positions men and women with proper training, initiative, a keen feeling of what is new, and a thorough knowledge of the work entrusted to them—men and women who will devote all their energies and knowledge to furthering the interests of the people, and will bring to their work revolutionary ardour, Bolshevik devotion and fidelity to principle. All our executives must fully appreciate their responsibility to the Party and the people for the job entrusted to them.

Our Party is rich in such personnel. We have an ample reserve from which to promote to leading positions both experienced people who have proved their worth and representatives of our talented youth. Yet there are facts to show that there is still an inadequate proportion of younger people among the leading personnel, including secretaries of district, city,

regional and territorial Party committees and central committee secretaries in the Union Republics.

We should be bolder in bringing young cadres to the fore and no line should be drawn between the young and the old. Apparently we ought to modify our interpretation of the concepts "old" and "young." Not infrequently a man of 35 or 40 is considered immature for a responsible job. That is wrong. Men of this age are full of energy; our growing cadres now possess profound knowledge and sufficient experience. They should be given a chance to apply their abilities in practical work and show that they can successfully cope with their duties. The combination of young cadres and old is the sure path to improve results.

Some Party bodies do not always properly appreciate the value of efficient and well-trained people and hesitate to promote them. They accept a situation in which, in many cases, responsible posts are held for a long time by persons who are not of sufficient calibre, persons who have lost touch with developments and are not doing their work properly. Instead of being released they are shifted from one job to another, from district to district, or from region to region. This makes for stagnation and prevents the inflow of young blood.

The question of providing more competent cadres for factories, collective farms, State farms and districts that are lagging behind, merits special attention, for side by side with efficient factories and State and collective farms there are quite a few enterprises that have been lagging seriously behind for a long time, or are making no headway whatsoever. In most cases the reason is that the people in charge are not of sufficient calibre, do not possess sufficient knowledge, are poorly versed in economics and production, and cannot, therefore, give proper leadership.

If we were able, within a short time, to strengthen all these lagging enterprises with experienced cadres, good organisers and specialists, we could bring to bear immense reserves and take a big step forward in industrial and agricultural expansion. The problem has to be tackled with determination and persistence.

Attention should also be drawn to the vast section of cadres who have devoted to our cause many years of active and fruitful work, but who now, because of age or other reasons, can no longer bring to their jobs the necessary energy and initiative. On the whole, these are good comrades devoted to the Party, and they fully deserve the deep respect and gratitude of the Party and the people. Their vast experience should be utilised in work commensurate with their physical and other abilities. Nor should we try to keep them at their jobs if they want to take up other work or retire on a pension. It is our duty to provide them with good conditions.

In the past few years Party organisations have more frequently sent responsible officials to permanent work at a local level. In response to the Party's appeal, thousands of such people have taken over the management of State and collective farms and in a brief period of time have achieved considerable success in increasing agricultural production.

Good results have also been obtained from the transfer of a sizeable

group of experienced economic executives to factories and construction projects. This practice ought to be continued.

In the light of the tasks now confronting us, we must examine in a comprehensive way, and find a proper solution for, the problem of planned training of personnel for work in various economic and cultural fields.

One thing, and an important one, that requires our immediate attention is the provision of efficient personnel for those parts of the country where in the next few years we shall be developing vast natural resources and building new industrial centres.

Just as thousands of specialists and experienced administrators enthusiastically took on the job of bringing new land into cultivation in the eastern parts of the country, it is now necessary to initiate a broad movement for workers from industry, power engineering, transport, construction, agriculture and diverse fields of science and culture to take up work in these rich areas, which are now being developed.

We should welcome and support the example set by a number of eminent scientists—Academicians Mikhail Alexeyevich Lavrentyev, Sergei Alexeyevich Khristianovich and Sergei Lvovich Sobolev—who have suggested organising new scientific centres in the Soviet East and have taken up permanent work there.

The Communist Party trains our cadres, all Party members, to be exacting in their work, irreconcilable to shortcomings in a spirit of criticism and self-criticism, fidelity to Party principles and selfless service in the interests of the people and Communism.

All the experience gained in the battle for the triumph of Socialism and Communism, both in this and other Socialist countries, confirms one of the key principles of Leninism, namely, that in the process of building Communist society the role of the Party must increase, not decrease, as the latter-day revisionists maintain.

The Communist Party, the highest form of social organisation, the leading detachment and trusted vanguard of the people, gives leadership to all other organisations of the working people.

Comrades, now that our country has entered a new and momentous stage in its development, the time is ripe for introducing certain amendments and addenda to the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. More than 20 years have elapsed since its adoption, years crowded with events of historic significance. Socialism has emerged from the framework of one country to become a powerful world system. Important changes have taken place in the political and economic life of the Soviet Union. The building of Communist society has become the immediate and practical goal of the Party and the people.

All these sweeping changes in the life of the country and in the international situation should find expression and legislative consolidation in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the Fundamental Law of our land.

The Soviets of Working People's Deputies have a still greater part to play in the present stage of development. They are organs of State power, whose work is based on the activity of the masses, further expansion

of Socialist democracy, still closer friendly union of the working class and peasantry and closer friendship of the Soviet peoples.

With a view to improving the functioning of the Soviets, cementing their ties with the masses, further extending Soviet democracy and drawing the people more extensively into their practical work, the Supreme Soviets of the Union Republics consider it necessary substantially to increase—approximately by 350,000—the membership of the local Soviets at the coming elections in February and March.

For the Soviets to operate more efficiently, they must resolutely root out all elements of bureaucracy and red tape, and show still more concern for the growing requirements of the people.

In mobilising the masses for successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan, a great deal of work will fall to the trade unions, which now have a membership of more than 50 million. Since the 20th C.P.S.U. Congress, Party organisations have given better leadership and more assistance to the trade unions. The role of the trade unions has grown considerably—they are devoting more attention to production, are more energetically working to raise productivity and improve labour and general conditions, are doing more to bring the masses of the people to share in the administration of the economy.

Describing the role of the trade unions in the transition period from Capitalism to Communism, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin said that the trade unions "... are an educational organisation, an organisation rallying and training the masses, that is, a school of administration, a school of management, a school of Communism." [*Works*, vol. 32, p. 2.]

It will thus be seen with what profound meaning Lenin's words were invested when he said that the trade unions were a "school of Communism."

Guided by Lenin's injunctions, the trade unions must encourage and foster the activities of the working class and all working people, directing their efforts towards fulfilment and overfulfilment of the State Plan in every single enterprise, and toward technical progress. The trade unions must give ever greater scope to the Socialist emulation movement, supporting and encouraging innovators in production, inventors and front-rank workers, and popularising their methods.

Big tasks now face the trade unions in organising public supervision over industrial safety arrangements, housing construction, the allocation of housing facilities, the operation of the distribution and catering system and the medical and other public services.

The trade unions need to improve the work of educational institutions, constantly striving to enhance the Communist consciousness of the people and to raise their cultural level.

Party organisations must give the trade unions all possible support and assistance in their varied and important work. We need have no doubt that the trade unions will make a weighty contribution to the successful fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan.

Comrades, the Lenin Young Communist League, comprising more than 18 million young men and women, is the Party's faithful assistant in the struggle for Communism. Our Y.C.L. organisations, in pursuance

of the decisions of the 20th Congress, have done much to draw the young people into active participation in economic and cultural development.

Our young people have made an excellent showing in cultivating the virgin lands, in boosting agricultural output and expanding industry. The initiative of the Y.C.L. in enlisting a million volunteers for major construction projects within the next few years deserves every support and encouragement. The many fine examples set by our young men and women are evidence of growing Communist consciousness and of a patriotic desire to devote all their strength to our common cause. By its glorious deeds the Y.C.L. has earned the respect and affection of all our people.

The inspiring programme of Communist construction which our Party has outlined for the coming seven years offers our younger generation immense opportunities for applying their creative initiative and activity.

In the months preceding this congress the Young Communist League launched a new patriotic movement—the movement for Communist work teams.

The Party is confident that the Lenin Young Communist League, our glorious Soviet youth, will be in the front ranks in carrying out the Seven-Year Plan.

In building Socialism the Soviet people have displayed miracles of heroism in labour. And there can be no doubt whatsoever that the Seven-Year Plan will engender a new wave of labour enthusiasm and will give rise to new forms of the Socialist emulation movements for fulfilment, ahead of schedule, of our inspiring programme for building Communism.

* * *

Comrades, we are living in a remarkable age. These are times when, by the will and creative labour of the Soviet people, led by the Communist Party, man's boldest dreams are being translated into life. Many generations dreamed of a brighter future, of a society that would not be divided into poor and rich, and in which working men and women would not be oppressed. That dream was of Communism.

More than a century ago the great leaders and teachers of the working class, Marx and Engels, armed the working people with a revolutionary theory—the theory of scientific Communism.

The immortal Lenin creatively developed and enriched that theory in the new conditions of history. He founded and reared our Communist Party, under whose leadership the working class and working people carried through the Great October Socialist Revolution, built Socialism, and are now successfully building Communist society.

We are advancing with a confident and firm step along Lenin's tried and tested path, surmounting all obstacles and barriers. Just as an advance group of mountain climbers goes forward intrepidly to conquer new, seemingly inaccessible, summits, blazing the trail for the rest—so our Party, the militant vanguard of the working class and working people of the Soviet Union, is leading the people to the radiant summits of Communism.

The seven-year period we have now entered is a new and important, it might even be said decisive, height on our path in history. The Communist Party and all our people are fully confident that this height will be scaled. Then we shall emerge on to a broad plateau from which new vistas will open up and from which the continued advance will be easier.

The goal before us is a clear and noble one. In order to achieve it we must work well. Labour such as this is a matter of dignity, satisfaction and joy.

The Soviet people are marching ahead in close unity with the peoples of the Socialist camp. Rallied around the victorious banner of Socialism are 1,000 million people in the Socialist countries of Europe and Asia—over a third of the human race. Socialism is unshakably strong, and its strength is growing every day. The future belongs to it.

We are confidently advancing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, building the very best, the most just, society on earth—Communist society.

Long live the great Soviet people — the builders of Communism!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—the militant and tested vanguard of the Soviet people, the organiser and inspirer of Communist victories!

Long live the unbreakable fraternal friendship of the countries of the mighty Socialist camp!

Long live the Marxist-Leninist unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries!

Long live world peace!

N. S. Khrushchov's Reply to Discussion

(February 5, 1959)

Comrades, our congress is concluding its work. Both during the preparations for the congress and at the congress itself, the discussion on the target figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. from 1959 to 1965 has shown that the whole of our Party and the entire Soviet people have welcomed the Seven-Year Plan with unanimous approval and are fully resolved to carry it out. In all, 86 comrades have spoken at the congress. They included representatives of the party organisations of all the Union republics and of many autonomous republics, territories and regions, remarkable front-rank workers in industry and agriculture, and workers in the fields of science, engineering and culture.

All the speakers have expressed their full agreement with the target figures submitted for discussion at the congress. They see in the Seven-Year Plan an expression of the Leninist general line of the party in the present stage of building communism in our country.

The work of our congress vividly shows the monolithic solidarity and unity of our party and the great activity of the party organisations and of all communists. There is every reason to call the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the congress of the builders of communism, marking our country's entry into a new historic period of development—the period of comprehensive building of a communist society. The congress has demonstrated the great creative force of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, their vital, unbreakable ties with the practical work of the masses of people, who are building the bright edifice of communism.

The speakers at the congress have put forward many concrete and extremely valuable suggestions, the implementation of which will enable us to make fuller use of the inexhaustible potentialities in industry and agriculture for the successful fulfilment and over-fulfilment of the plan.

As I listened to the speeches of the congress delegates, I recalled Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's words at the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, which discussed the first economic plan—the Plan for the Electrification of Russia.

Lenin said:

"I think that we are present here at an extremely important turning-point, which in any case testifies to the beginning of great successes for Soviet power. Not only statesmen and administrators, but also engineers and agronomists will from now on appear on the rostrum of all-Russian congresses. This is the beginning of a very happy era. . . . In order really to pass over to economic development, this practice must be started with

the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and followed from top to bottom in all the Soviets and organisations, in all newspapers, in all bodies responsible for propaganda and agitation, at all institutions. . . . Turn congresses and conferences, not into meetings for endless discussion, but into organs where we can learn to develop the economy in the real way." (*Works*, vol. 31. pp. 481-482).

The party is doing what the great Lenin recommended. The work of our congress is permeated with a businesslike spirit and a concrete, creative approach to the solution of pressing problems of building communism. And look how fruitfully this is affecting the work of the congress, how fruitfully it is stimulating the growth of the activity and the entire practical effort of millions of workers, collective farmers and intellectuals.

We have accumulated vast experience in economic development and our party organisations have made a sharp turn towards solving the fundamental problems of directing the country's economy and have achieved quite a few successes. In carrying out the tremendous tasks of the Seven-Year Plan, all party organisations, from the lowest to the highest, every body of workers in Soviet society must take as their guide Lenin's instructions on the businesslike, concrete and purposeful character of all our work.

We have listened with great interest to the speeches of party, government, economic, trade union and Young Communist League workers, and scientists, engineers and agronomists, to the remarkable speeches by front-rank workers in industry and agriculture. All of them have spoken about the specific and important tasks facing our country.

Among those who have spoken at the congress have been Nikolai Yakovlevich Mamai, a famous Donbas miner, Alexandra Mikhailovna Rybakova, a fitter of the Moscow Tyre Factory, Vladimir Ivanovich Gorbunov, a shipwright of the Leningrad Admiralty Works, Nikolai Ivanovich Anishchenkov, a steel-maker of the Krasnoye Sormovo Works, Dmitry Ivanovich Barashkin, a worker at the Minsk Motor Works, and many others.

What interesting and purposeful speeches they have made! Their speeches have been permeated with profound knowledge of their subjects and with a proprietary concern for the development of output, not only at their own factory or mine, but throughout the country as a whole.

Or take the speeches made by remarkable front-rankers in agriculture—Yevgenia Alexeyevna Dolynyuk, Alexander Vasilyevich Gitalov, Pelageya Nikandrovna Kovalyova, Sergei Kuzmich Boiko, Yevgenia Ivanovna Andreyeva, Terenty Semyonovich Maltsev and other comrades. They have spoken about the work of their collective farms and have convincingly shown what successes can be achieved through able management and what big potentialities there are on our collective and state farms.

We have heard speeches made from this distinguished rostrum by outstanding scientists of ours—Academician Igor Vasilyevich Kurchatov, Academician Mikhail Alexeyevich Lavrentyev, the President of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science Alexander Nikolayevich Nesmeyanov, the

President of the Academy of Science of the Kazakh Republic Kanysh Imantayevich Satpayev—and by the well-known poet Alexander Trifonovich Tvardovsky and other representatives of our glorious creative intelligentsia.

It is very significant that in dealing with the problems of the Seven-Year Plan in their speeches, leading party and government workers have spoken with profound knowledge of industrial and agricultural production and, on the basis of the rich experience of the masses of the people, have approached the solution of urgent tasks in a concrete way. The front-rank workers in industry and agriculture, the representatives of the intelligentsia and the party and government workers—all the comrades who have spoken at the congress have shown in a very convincing way that the targets of the Seven-Year Plan can not only be reached but also surpassed.

It has been a joy and pleasure to hear the strong and confident voices of people who are in the thick of life, among the masses of the people, ring out from the rostrum of the congress, to hear the voices of people who know and express the sentiments, thoughts and feelings of millions. These speeches express the great enthusiasm of the Soviet people, who have set out to fulfil the magnificent tasks of the Seven-Year Plan. Moreover all this shows the high level reached by our cadres, the scale on which Soviet people think and what a good knowledge they have, not only of their own particular work, but also of the life of the country.

As I have already said, many extremely valuable suggestions have been made during the discussion on the report on the target figures for the economic development of the U.S.S.R. in the coming seven years. The central committee of the party and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers will pay heed to the wishes and suggestions that have been expressed in the speeches at the congress. It is necessary to entrust the State Planning Committee and the republican and other local bodies with the task of carefully studying the many concrete suggestions made by the people in the course of the discussion on the target figures, and to take steps to have them carried out in practice.

In their speeches, some of the congress delegates have condemned hard drinking and raised the question of intensifying the fight against this evil and of measures against the illicit distilling of spirits. People who illicitly distil spirits not only spoil sugar, grain and other products, they not only profiteer, but they also make drunkards of weak-willed people and poison their constitutions, because illicitly-distilled spirits contain a lot of fusel oil.

I consider that the suggestions that the struggle against hard drinking and illicit distilling should be intensified are correct, and the congress has supported the comrades who have put forward these suggestions.

It would be a good thing if the central committees of the Communist Parties and the Councils of Ministers of the Union republics were to pay more attention to this question and outline specific measures against the abuse of spirits and against illicit distillers—those “chemists” who seriously damage people’s health and who harm society.

I think that draft laws on this question should be drawn up in the republics and submitted for discussion by the people.

After a discussion on these Bills, laws should be passed which would provide for stern measures against people who abuse alcoholic drinks and commit breaches of public order, and especially against persons who illicitly distil spirits. We are confident that the people of every republic will approve steps to intensify the struggle against hard drinking and illicit distilling of spirits.

Comrades, during these days the attention of our entire country is being focused on the work of the congress. Rallies and meetings, at which the congress documents have been widely discussed, have been held everywhere at factories and building sites, on collective and state farms, and in scientific institutions. The 21st Congress has received thousands of letters and telegrams containing not only greetings but also news of specific achievements dedicated to the 21st Congress. *Pravda* publishes a list of working people who have sent collective greetings to the 21st Congress of the party and have pledged themselves to carry out the tasks of the Seven-Year Plan ahead of schedule.

On behalf of our congress, allow me to express heartfelt gratitude to all the groups and individual comrades who have sent greetings to the 21st Party Congress and to wish them further success in their work for the good of our country.

We are confident that the nationwide socialist emulation movement that has started in the country for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will now spread on a still bigger scale and will be rewarded with new and outstanding triumphs of labour.

And how the sun is shining again! It has been shining all the time our congress has been meeting. Comrades, delegations from 72 foreign Communist and Workers' Parties are attending our congress. Fraternal parties whose representatives could not personally bring their greetings, have sent friendly messages to our congress.

The speeches and messages of greetings from the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties to our party and to all the peoples of the Soviet Union have conveyed feelings of sincere friendship and solidarity on behalf of the communists, the working class and millions of people in their countries. These greetings have been expressed in moving words telling of the great trust and sincere love that the peoples of the socialist countries and the broad masses of the working people, the fighters for peace, democracy and progress throughout the world, have for our party.

The delegations from the fraternal parties of China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, Albania and the Mongolian People's Republic have shared with us the glad tidings about the remarkable successes the peoples of their countries have achieved in building socialism under the leadership of the Communist and Workers' Parties.

The comrades from the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries have spoken here about the difficult and heroic struggle the communists of

those countries are waging in the interests of the working class, the peace and security of the nations, and the welfare of all peoples.

The Communist Parties have established a tradition of exchanging delegates on the occasion of party congresses. We shall keep up this tradition, which admirably expresses the spirit of solidarity and mutual support among fraternal parties, the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The greetings from the fraternal parties and the meetings their representatives have had with the delegates to our congress and with the people of Moscow have been a remarkable demonstration of the unity, strength and solidarity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Allow me, on behalf of our party congress and the Soviet people to express our most sincere gratitude to the fraternal parties for their greetings and friendly good wishes of every success to the Communist Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

For our part, we cordially wish all the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties success in their heroic struggle for peace and socialism.

Allow me also to express our gratitude to all public organisations, trade unions and working people abroad for the greetings they have sent to the congress of our party.

Dear guests, representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, you have come to our congress from the ends of the earth. We would like you to convey to the members of your parties, and to the working people of your countries the assurance of the 21st Congress of the C.P.S.U. that the communists and all the peoples of the Soviet Union greatly appreciate the feelings of comradeship, friendship and solidarity which you have expressed in your greetings to our congress.

Our party and the Soviet people consider it their international duty to strengthen constantly the bonds of friendship and proletarian solidarity with the working people and the democratic forces throughout the world, to strengthen the mighty socialist camp and to work tirelessly for peace among the nations.

The Communist Party and the Soviet people regard the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the new Seven-Year Plan as their paramount international task.

You may be certain, dear comrades, that all the communists and working people of the Soviet Union will not spare their efforts in order to carry out this historic task with honour! Comrades, the 21st Party Congress is outlining magnificent plans for peaceful construction. The work of the congress reflects the determination of the party, of the whole Soviet people, to carry out the plans for building communism and to do their utmost to preserve peace, to ensure the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems. That is the main feature of our congress. If they assess events in an objective way, even the advocates of "cold war" will see that the plan our congress is adopting aims to ensure peaceful co-existence and to consolidate peace the world over.

Comrades delegates, I am glad to inform you that our Soviet experts working in India on the construction of the Bhilai iron and steel plant, which the Indian Government is building with the help of the Soviet

Union, report a great production victory. On February 1st the plant produced its first coke and on February 3rd its first pig iron. This big iron and steel plant is being built to a Soviet design and under the direction of our specialists.

It should be observed that in addition to this factory, which is being built with the help of the Soviet Union, two more mills are being built in India—one by Britain and the other by Western Germany. Although construction of the Bhilai iron and steel mills was started a year—a year and a half—after the plants being built by British and West German firms, our comrades, as a result of friendly joint work with Indian specialists and workers, have overcome serious difficulties, have succeeded in a shorter period than the British and Germans in completing construction of the first section of a powerful up to date metallurgical works, and have produced the first coke and pig iron.

May this first pig iron from these mills be a symbol of growing friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and India.

May all the intrigues of the imperialists, who are trying to hamper the further development of Soviet-Indian friendship, our joint struggle for peace, for the triumph of the principles of peaceful co-existence, burn to ashes in the fire of this blast furnace.

May the heat of this blast furnace warm the friendship of our two great and peaceloving peoples.

May our friendship be as strong as the metal produced at this factory, which has been created thanks to the joint efforts of the governments and peoples of the Soviet Union and India.

We greet the Indian people and the government of India, headed by Prime Minister Nehru, on this great production victory, of such great importance to the country's industrialisation and strengthening of its economic independence.

It gratifies us to observe that Mr. Prasad, President of the Republic of India, was present at the starting of the first section of the iron and steel mills, expressing good wishes for the strengthening of Soviet Indian friendship.

We greet from the bottom of our hearts the Soviet specialists and workers who, with the Indian specialists and workers, have achieved such outstanding successes and made a valuable contribution to our fraternal friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union.

We regard this production triumph as striking proof of the correctness of the Leninist peaceloving policy, an example of the Soviet Union's disinterested economic co-operation with peoples fighting to strengthen their freedom and independence.

In every country the work of the 21st Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is being discussed with tremendous interest. It must be said that the press in many capitalist countries, as a rule, are dealing with the work of the congress fairly objectively. This is a positive phenomenon, for the objective reflection of events in the press helps, not to make the climate hotter, but to lessen tension; it creates conditions for speeding up the settlement of pressing international problems in favour of peace.

We note with satisfaction that the peaceful aspirations of our plan have been understood correctly in most countries. We have declared that we shall steadfastly continue to pursue the peaceful Leninist foreign policy aimed at preserving and strengthening the peace and security of the peoples.

In the West, however, there are still quite a few leaders who distort our policy of peace and who oppose the principles of peaceful co-existence.

In this connection, allow me to dwell on some questions concerning the present international situation and to express our unshakeable conviction that the principles of peaceful co-existence must be firmly observed.

The question of peace, of peaceful co-existence, is the question of all questions, for the people of every country, whatever their social system, want to live well, work in peace and create better conditions of life.

It is our view that the peoples must live in peace, irrespective of the social systems of their countries, and that the issues arising between states must be settled peacefully, and not by war.

Great changes have now taken place in the world. There are countries that make up the world socialist system and countries forming the world imperialist system. But there are also countries that are not socialist, but which cannot be regarded as belonging to the imperialist system. Having won their national independence as a result of a struggle for liberation, these countries want to follow a path of their own, by-passing the capitalist stage of development so that, having done away with colonial oppression, they can start building a society based on different principles.

Many of the leaders of these countries say that they want to build socialism. It is true, they pronounce the word "communism" with difficulty, and it is not always clear what they mean by socialism. However, there is no doubt that they are well-disposed towards the socialist countries and do not consider them as antagonists or regard them as opponents of their efforts to build a new life without capitalism, without colonial oppression. For that reason good, friendly relations have been established between the socialist countries and these states, and normal economic relations are developing between them. We are going forward together in the struggle for the peace and security of the peoples, for banning atomic and hydrogen weapons, against the colonialist policy of the imperialists.

If we take the countries forming the world socialist system and the countries waging a courageous struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for their freedom and national independence, we shall find that the scales are now already tipping in favour of these peace-loving countries, and not in favour of the imperialist states. These peace-loving countries eclipse the imperialist states in territory, population and natural wealth.

One of the major conclusions arising from an analysis of the present alignment of forces in the world is that the majority of the colonial and semi-colonial countries which, only recently, constituted the reserve

and rear of imperialism, are no longer that. As a result of a prolonged struggle, these countries have turned into active forces of peace. They are struggling against imperialism and colonialism, for freedom and national independence, and are advocating the peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems.

In addition, we must bear in mind that the working people of the capitalist countries—the working class, the working peasantry and a considerable section of the intelligentsia—are striving to the utmost of their strength to preserve peace and raise their standard of living. They approve of the peaceful policy of the socialist countries. Besides Communist Parties, there are in the capitalist countries socialist and workers' parties that lead a part of the workers and peasants. Although the political and ideological views of these parties differ from those of the Marxist-Leninist parties, most of them advocate peace. Our efforts can be combined on these questions as well. Consequently, in the capitalist countries the imperialists do not have the support of the broad masses of the working people, for the working people are vitally interested in preserving and strengthening peace.

The Soviet Union has consistently and firmly pursued a peaceful foreign policy and will continue to do so. The accomplishment of the Seven-Year Plan will have a tremendous bearing on the solution of the major problem of our time—the preservation of universal peace.

We want to compete with the capitalist countries in peaceful spheres—in the development of the productive forces, of the country's economic potential, and in the improvement of the material and cultural welfare of the people. We want each system to display its economic and spiritual powers in the process of this competition.

To put it in the language of businessmen, evidently the language that is more understandable to representatives of the capitalist world, let's lay out our "wares"—let the socialist and the capitalist worlds each lay out their own. And let each system show where and how long the working day is; how many material and spiritual benefits are received by the working man; what housing he is provided with; what chances he has of getting an education; what part he plays in government, in the political life of his country, and who is master of all the material and cultural wealth—the man who works, or the man who doesn't work but possesses capital. We think that it is the socialist system which gives the people more material riches and that it is the system which provides the people with unlimited opportunities for spiritual development—that this system is progressive, that it is the system of the future.

And who will be the judge? Who will decide what social system is better and more progressive? Naturally, we shall not let the ideologists of the capitalist world be the judges. And we do not expect that the bourgeois ideologists will agree to our being the judges. It is safe to say that both will stand firm on this subject. But who will be the judges? The judges will be the people. It is they who will decide which system is better. We are sure that the people will make the right choice, and that they will do so without starting an international war, without hydrogen and atom bombs.

Competition is widespread in the capitalist world. When two competitors fight over a buyer and the buyer finally goes to one of them, to the one who offers better wares at cheaper prices, the other competitor does not die, his life is not taken from him, he is not physically destroyed.

We address the capitalist countries: Let's act on the basis of this method, which you understand. You refuse to call the relations between countries of the two systems a peaceful contest. You prefer to call it competition. Very well, we concede this point to you. But whichever term we may choose—contest or competition—in both cases we propose that matters be decided without the rumble of guns, without the use of nuclear weapons, without chemical, bacteriological and other means of annihilating people, without wars and without the destruction of the treasures accumulated by mankind.

Let us give the people a chance to choose the social system which is in keeping with their interests. Bourgeois leaders often praise the capitalist system. But they back out of peaceful economic competition with the socialist countries. They do not want to let the people choose their own social system. This shows that they do not trust the people of their own country, that they fear the people, that they cannot depend on their people.

Some representatives of the United States business world have expressed a desire that in our speeches we should not use the word "struggle" and that we should speak of a contest or competition. In order to avoid straining our relations, we agree to say "contest", or even "competition". We are thus prepared to make concessions and to use the words to which the ears of our opponents are more accustomed.

But apparently it is not a matter of words, not a matter of terminology. Take the latest speeches by the United States President Mr. D. Eisenhower, Vice-President R. Nixon, Secretary of State F. Dulles, Senator Humphrey, and others. In their speeches they appeal for vigilance and drop a hint of doubt; there is the impression that they are reverting to their old bellicose terminology, to statements like the one which Mr. Dulles saw fit to make at his press conference on January 27. He alleged, with no good reason whatsoever, that the Soviet Union was intending to continue the "cold war" and that while proposing the development of normal trade between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., it was really thinking of obtaining an advantage for itself and for world communism in the "cold war" against the capitalist countries.

In this way certain people in the United States want to bring to nothing the thaw that has set in in the relations between our countries lately in connection with the good reception given to Anastas Mikoyan in the United States. They want to put new life into the "cold war" and to maintain the strained relations between our countries.

And you should hear what prominent United States generals have to say! They evidently act in accordance with the principle of the division of labour and create a hullabaloo about bombers and hydrogen and atom bombs, and about how many hours or days they will need to destroy key objectives in the Soviet Union, to deliver their crushing blow, and so on. To put it in a nutshell, the most unthinking and ex-

cessively warlike American generals are preparing for a real war, for exterminating people, for destroying material wealth. In so doing, American generals and statesmen often say that the United States is in a more favourable position than the Soviet Union from a military point of view, because it has a string of military bases on the territories of European and Asian countries which may be used to strike at our country, whereas the Soviet Union, they say, as yet has but few inter-continental rockets.

For this reason, they claim, war is not really a great danger to the United States. For example, United States Defence Secretary McElroy said the other day that the United States would conduct military operations from the territories of its allies situated near the frontiers of the U.S.S.R., whereas the Soviet Union would have to depend solely on the rockets it could launch from its own territory.

Presumably, British people, Frenchmen, Germans, Turks, Greeks, Italians and the people of the other countries where American military bases are situated, have turned their thoughts to what this prospect holds in store for them.

When strategic plans are built on false inferences, that can lead to errors entailing consequences disastrous for the cause of peace. If a state thinks that at any given moment its adversary lacks the weapon to strike at its territory, the temptation may arise to use that propitious moment for starting a war. If any U.S. statesmen happened to think that today their territory was invulnerable, they might arrive at the conclusion that the right time had come for them to start a war, and to pay the price of war with the blood and lives of British people, Frenchmen, Italians, Germans, Turks and their other allies, whose territory would, in the event of war, be laid waste with intermediate- and short-range rockets. Whereas the United States would, in the opinion of those short-sighted military "strategists", be able to safeguard itself from destruction.

The readiness displayed by the United States leaders to sacrifice their allies and their disregard for the fate of mankind for the sake of their own narrow interests are nothing short of a mercantile approach, a policy of merchants of death who, for the sake of enrichment, are prepared to sell not only their friends, but even their own fathers.

Needless to say, this policy is alien to our people, to our Soviet state; it is alien to the working class, to people who adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We are working persistently to remove the threat of war, to have nuclear weapons prohibited and the testing of those weapons stopped, to devise mutually acceptable agreements with the United States, Britain, France and the other Western countries on all vital issues. We fight for world peace, because we attach great value to the human being, irrespective of nationality, race or religion.

We consider it criminal to build up the well-being of some people upon the misfortune and suffering of others. We consider it impermissible to wish great misfortune upon one people, whether near or far, in order to carve out prosperity for others, and, what is more, without any good reason for that.

If America's politicians and generals would be guided by the best

interests of all mankind, instead of by selfish interests, that would be of benefit not only to the American people, but to all the peoples of the world.

I think it is high time for the American strategists to come out of their fool's paradise and stop believing that in the event of a military conflict the territory of the United States will remain invulnerable. For a long time now, that has not been in keeping with reality and has been nothing more than wishful thinking on the part of America's generals. In point of fact, the Soviet Union today has the means to deliver a crushing blow at an aggressor at any point on the globe. After all, it is not a mere figure of speech when we say that we have organised the serial production of intercontinental ballistic rockets. Nor do we say that in order to threaten anyone, but rather in order to bring clarity into the existing state of affairs.

Our Seven-Year Plan is the most convincing proof anyone could ask for of the Soviet Union's desire for peace. We need peace and we strive for it resolutely and consistently. All the peoples of our planet desire peace. That is why the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union enjoys such deep respect and support throughout the world.

Comrades, an improvement in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is of special importance for relieving international tension. In the recent past there has been an exchange of fairly sharp messages between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. The reason was that they dealt with very sharp international issues. Certain moves on the part of the United States had caused alarm among the peaceful peoples and we could not fail to express our attitude on this subject.

Now those events are behind us. We have to look to the future. The Soviet Government, for its part, is doing its utmost to ease international tension and improve relations with all countries. We trust that the President and the other United States leaders, if they really want peace as they said they did in their talks with Anastas Mikoyan, will recognise the need for peaceful co-existence and will proceed on this basis in their relations with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

The extension of trade and cultural relations, and personal contacts between statesmen and public leaders can make a great contribution towards improving mutual understanding and establishing friendly relations between states.

The favourable reaction caused throughout the world by the four-power meeting of statesmen in Geneva in the summer of 1955 is still fresh in our memories. Friends of peace saw in it an important step towards easing international tension.

The meetings and talks we had in Geneva left pleasant recollections of Mr. Eisenhower. I formed the opinion that in spite of being a general, Mr. Eisenhower is not one of those military men who, in solving controversial issues, depend solely on guns and the like to settle all problems by force of arms. He stated repeatedly that it was his aim to prevent war. We greatly value this and hope that his statements will be followed by specific deeds.

Comrade Mikoyan's visit to the United States gave reason to hope for a further "thaw" in the relations between our countries, for greater contacts and exchanges. By the way, Comrade Mikoyan went to the United States during his holiday, which was intended for rest and leisure. But he is hinting that he should be given another holiday in the Soviet Union.

His visit has to some extent assisted the mercury of our relations to rise from below zero to zero and above; it has begun rising so as to reach a temperature vital for normal existence. Apparently some of the politicians don't like this and are trying to counteract the favourable impact which Comrade Mikoyan's visit has had on public opinion in the United States.

Rather than extend contacts of this kind, a turn is being made in the United States in the opposite direction. At a press conference on January 28, in reply to a correspondent's question about the possibility of my paying a visit to the United States—a visit similar to Mikoyan's—President Eisenhower said unequivocally that it was out of the question. He declared: "It would be impossible . . . to visit informally . . . as Mr. Mikoyan."

It turns out there is one yardstick for him and another for me. That is indeed an unexpected deduction. It is something very close to discrimination. One man can enjoy a right common to all, and the other is deprived of it.

I want to be rightly understood. I have no intention whatsoever of asking for a visa to go on such a trip. We have our hands full here. Furthermore, I receive very many invitations and can scarcely find time to avail myself of them.

Consequently it isn't a question of my wanting to go to the United States, but of something entirely different—human rights. I fail to understand what it is that makes the President deprive me of something that others are accorded, who are allowed to visit that country.

As for the Soviet people we have a different approach to these things. We are pleased when people come to us from other countries, whether they be politicians or tourists.

In recent years the excellent habit has grown up of American delegations, members of parliament and tourists visiting the Soviet Union, and of Soviet people visiting the United States. This should be encouraged. Our people receive Americans hospitably, and the American people are very cordial to our people.

This was particularly evident during Comrade Mikoyan's trip to America. And if the President should wish to come to our country, he would be received with heartfelt hospitality both by our government and by the Soviet people. He can bring with him anyone he likes. They will all be welcome guests. Let the President study a map of the Soviet Union and pick out the places in our country which he would like to visit. Ours is a big country and there are many interesting places in it worth visiting and seeing. His visit would unquestionably be useful to both our countries and would surely be approved by the people of the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union.

And we make such a proposal without any condition of reciprocity. We shall not force our visits down their throat.

We proceed from the fact that reciprocal meetings and talks, reciprocal visits by statesmen and public leaders, promote better relations between states and make for an atmosphere which warms body and soul and creates the opportunity to live without fear for the future, to exclude war and establish peaceful co-existence.

The peoples do not want cold war. Hence there is no good reason to leave any of the "knots" in international relations; they should be untied.

What I have in mind is above all the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution of the Berlin problem. Neither the one nor the other side will derive any material advantages if these problems are solved in accordance with our proposals, but for all that we shall create the conditions for ending the cold war, solving the problems of disarmament and establishing international relations that would rule out war as a means of settling disputes.

Secretary of State Dulles says that the United States cannot make concessions in negotiating with the Soviet Union because, if it were to do so, this would not lead to ending the cold war but to the Soviet Union's winning this "cold war". Our reply to Mr. Dulles is this: We do not ask anyone to concede us anything; we strive for mutual understanding and for concessions to common sense. The Soviet Union does not seek victory in the cold war, neither for itself nor for the United States, and furthermore, a cold war cannot be won. Yet it is a menace to all.

If one were to visualise for a moment that the Soviet Union was gaining an advantage in the cold war while the United States was losing ground, then the cold war would not end on this because the United States would strive to continue its policy in order to make up for lost ground.

If one is to concentrate on winning there will be no end to the cold war, or which is worse, it will developed into an armed conflict. Governments should show their will to end the cold war and, above all, should display an appreciation of the fact that we live on a single planet of fairly limited size by present engineering standards, and must therefore show caution and do our utmost to secure peaceful co-existence.

All we want is an early end to the cold war. And if you insist, Mr. Dulles, we are prepared for the sake of ending the cold war to concede you "victory" in this "war" which is not needed by the people. Gentlemen, consider yourselves the "victors" in this "war", just so that you can end it quickly. Everything that obstructs peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems must be swept aside. When a soldier finds he can't march properly because his boots rub he shifts his socks or changes his boots.

In politics we must do the same. We must eliminate the things that tend to aggravate the international situation and obstruct peaceful co-existence.

One such obstruction today is the policy of rearming West Germany. The Soviet Union's proposal to conclude a peace treaty with Germany gave Dulles the excuse to say that the Soviet Union was seeking victory in the cold war.

But who wins when a peace is concluded and who loses? The winners are those who want to secure peace and the losers are those who do not want peace. Therefore the peace treaty is not a cold war manoeuvre but the common cause of all peoples.

We would not have been offended nor suspected the United States of selfish designs if it had stolen a march on us in preparing the draft of a peace treaty, nor would we invent excuses to evade negotiations.

The Soviet Union showed initiative when it put forward its draft of a peace treaty with Germany. If the United States has any remarks to make about our draft, or if it has any special suggestions that it wants reflected in the treaty, there is nothing to stop it from expressing its point of view. It is for this express purpose that a peace conference is being suggested.

For this reason we call on the statesmen of the U.S.A. and other Western powers to correctly appraise the Soviet proposals, which are directed towards the strengthening of peace.

Take the question of West Berlin. Dulles says that West Berlin must not be surrendered. Surrender it to whom, we may ask.

Is there anything in the Soviet proposals that speaks of a surrender of West Berlin?

If West Berlin were not a hotbed of disturbances and conflicts in the heart of the German Democratic Republic there would not be any Berlin question.

But the situation in West Berlin today is such that anything unpleasant may be expected there. It may be compared with a burning fuse in a powder-magazine or a delayed-action bomb whose mechanism may bring about an explosion, at any moment.

Why should we preserve such a situation? Would it not be better to put out the fuse, to remove the delayed-action bomb?

It would be difficult to find another solution that would be to the interests of the two German states and, at the same time, be inoffensive and unharmed to other interested powers.

The conversion of West Berlin into a free city is such a solution. It is a solution that does not affect the established pattern of life in the city and, with the necessary guarantees, would exclude the possibility of outside interference in its internal affairs.

We are therefore prepared to participate with the United States, Britain and France in defining a status for West Berlin that would guarantee its normal development, its relations with all countries with which it may wish to maintain them, and access for those countries to the free city. We also agree to the United Nations Organisation participating in safeguarding the status of the free city and are prepared to discuss the form in which this may be done.

Of course, the drafting of such proposals and their solution should be done with participation of the German Democratic Republic because Berlin lies on its territory. In our opinion the conversion of West Berlin into a free, demilitarised city would create conditions for the solution of other disputed questions and would contribute to a guarantee of security in Europe and consequently throughout the world.

Perhaps I am repeating myself, but this is a question to which we shall have to return again and again until we arrive at an understanding by all the interested parties of the seriousness of the situation, and until they have weighed up what the further maintenance of such a situation may lead to and have come to a correct understanding of the question.

The Soviet Union will not cease its efforts to reach the goal it has set. Permit me, comrades, from the rostrum of our congress, to call on the German people to support a proposal that is aimed at strengthening peace in Europe and world security.

Twice in the course of the last fifty years the German imperialists have hurled the German people into the holocaust of bloody world wars. The peoples of many countries were drawn into these wars. But the peoples of our country and the German people suffered the greatest losses. What streams of blood and tears flowed, what tremendous devastation was done to our countries!

Hitler prepared and launched the Second World War with the aid of nationalist, chauvinist propaganda. He hammered into the heads of the German people that Germany should rule the world, that the Germans are a master race, that Germany needed to expand her "living space" right up to the Urals.

We all know how Hitler's campaigns ended. The Germans brought great misfortunes to the peoples of Europe but suffered a complete defeat.

Today, unfortunately, the more aggressive politicians in Western Germany want to travel Hitler's road. Apparently they have not learned the lessons of history and want, for the third time, to try and incite the German people into a predatory war.

The imperialist rulers are blinded by their hatred for the peoples of the socialist countries who are successfully developing their economy and culture and raising their living standards. They want to make history stand still, to put it in reverse, relying primarily on the Germans.

In the days of atomic and hydrogen weapons, in the days of rocketry, such attempts would be madness, leading not only to the death of millions of people but of whole nations and states. Furthermore, Western Germany's participation in aggression against the socialist states would place her in such a position that the first blow and the explosion of a considerable part of the accumulated hydrogen weapons would take place on German soil.

We hope that German workers, peasants and intellectuals, and also the leaders of the West German parties, the statesmen of the German Federal Republic understand the responsibility that lies with them for the policy Western Germany follows—whether preserving the hotbed of armed conflicts between nations, or liquidating the hotbed in order to clear the way for the establishment of friendly relations between states irrespective of their social systems.

The industrious and talented German people have given the world many great thinkers and eminent scientists, poets and musicians; the German people have founded a mighty industry and are ensuring them-

selves a high standard of living, and all that without the seizure of foreign territory such as Hitler and Goebbels incited them to.

Does this not speak in favour of the German people seeking their future in the field of peaceful labour and not on the field of battle? And if the present tension is done away with and the government of the German Federal Republic facilitates the development of economic relations with the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other socialist countries, with all countries of the world, the German people will find still greater application for their abilities. They can develop their economy, raise their living standards and greatly increase the material and spiritual wealth of their nation.

Unfortunately, Mr. Adenauer, the Chancellor of Western Germany, looks in the other direction; he banks on continuing the cold war and following a policy based on "positions of strength".

You, Mr. Chancellor, are sitting on the river bank with a fishing rod and waiting for the fish to bite, but the fish you want does not live in that river. Is it not time you gave up dreams that cannot come true?

Mr. Adenauer declares that the German Federal Republic will not collaborate with the Soviet Union unless our country pays for that collaboration. You should not approach politics, Mr. Chancellor, like the owner of a small grocer's shop. We have nothing to pay for: we are not in your debt.

We want you to understand that there can be no other reasonable policy for the German Federal Republic than peaceful co-operation with her neighbours, east and west, and that you neither by yourself, nor with the aid of your allies, are capable of abolishing the socialist system in Eastern Germany.

The Germans in Eastern Germany do not wish to return to the old way of life. Our attitude to their interests is one of understanding. We have supported and shall continue to support the German Democratic Republic.

It would be logical to assume that the Germans of Eastern Germany, on their part, would favour in principle abolishing the system existing in Western Germany. Such a presentation of the question, however, is not realistic, for social changes are effected by the peoples themselves and there can be no question of buying and selling in this matter.

One must stand on the soil of realistic politics, those that are in accordance with the given historical moment. If this is not understood, if one acts according to force of habit and does not feel the breath and the pulse of life, millions of people may suffer.

We are prepared to listen to your proposals. If they are reasonable, we agree to sit down at one table with you and examine your proposals and ours to find a mutually acceptable basis for an agreement, and then sign it.

But if you make your condition the abolition and absorption of the German Democratic Republic, the abolition of the social gains of the working people of the G.D.R.*, that is a condition that we cannot even

* G.D.R.—i.e. German Democratic Republic—Ed.

discuss. If we were to do that we should be taking upon ourselves functions that are not within our jurisdiction, since this would be interference in other people's affairs.

Every nation must decide for itself which social system suits it. When it does so, is its own affair. Nor do we object to the so-called free elections that are spoken about so much in the Western countries, if the Germans of the two German states agree to conduct such elections—but without the interference of a third party.

We can, indeed, assume that the Germans will at some time want to conduct free elections to abolish the capitalist system in Western Germany. Chancellor Adenauer, apparently, does not admit the idea, yet such a variant is, generally speaking, possible. But that is a matter for the Germans themselves.

A word about free elections. The ruling circles of the Western powers understand these elections in their own way. It will be remembered that the Geneva Conference in 1954 reached agreement on the conduct of free elections in South and North Viet Nam with the object of peacefully uniting the country. Those elections, however, were disrupted by the puppet government of South Viet Nam with the support of the United States.

Comrades, I should now like to deal with what we consider to be one of the most important international questions. I have in mind the cessation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests.

In Geneva last summer there was a conference of experts on the detection of nuclear explosions and the guarantee that an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests, should it be concluded, would be strictly observed by all participants.

The results of the conference fully confirmed the viewpoint of the Soviet Union that it is quite possible to detect any nuclear tests no matter where they are conducted. The most authoritative experts, including Soviet, American and British, worked out concrete recommendations for a system of control to detect atom or hydrogen bomb explosions. We were gratified at the successful work of the experts.

The Soviet government fully approved the conclusions and recommendations that were unanimously adopted by the Geneva conference. We got the impression that we should be able, without difficulty or further delay, to conclude with the U.S.A. and Britain an agreement to stop tests of nuclear weapons for ever.

Unfortunately things turned out otherwise. Representatives of the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain who are meeting to draw up and conclude a treaty on the cessation of tests have been in session for more than three months already. But no progress is being made. Judging by the way the negotiations are proceeding our partners apparently are out to prevent an agreement.

On what grounds do I draw this conclusion? There are plenty of grounds for it.

In the first place, the United States, with the complete backing of Britain, has made attempts that are tantamount to wiping out the useful results achieved by the conference of experts. The American government,

which at first approved the conclusions of the experts, suddenly came out with a declaration that some "new data" had appeared that allegedly made underground explosions more difficult to detect than had formerly been supposed.

In actual fact, the very opposite is the case. As time goes on the detection of every kind of nuclear explosion becomes easier as the technique of detection improves.

We are inclined to believe that all this business about the re-examination of the experts' recommendations was needed to prevent the conclusion of an agreement on the cessation of atom and hydrogen weapon tests.

One cannot help but come to the conclusion that the same object is behind the demands which the U.S.A. and Britain are putting forward during the discussion on the establishment of a system of control to ensure the observation of a treaty on the cessation of tests.

Judge for yourselves—here is what they want! They want all the control posts that it is intended to create for the detection of explosions to be manned only by foreign personnel, and the foreign inspectors to travel unhindered throughout the territory of the signatory states. They also want to create a situation in which the control commission to which these posts and inspectors are subordinated could, by a mechanical majority of the votes of Western representatives, impose decisions that affect the interests of the security of the Soviet Union.

We ask—in what way does this differ, for example, from the proposals made by President Eisenhower that Americans should be given the opportunity to fly freely over the whole territory of the U.S.S.R. and photograph it? Or in what way does it differ from the so-called "Baruch Plan" that, in actual fact, envisaged the establishment of the control of American monopolies over the production of atomic fissionable materials in all countries, the U.S.S.R. included?

These proposals, you will remember, were rejected. In the same way we reject proposals of that sort today, since we cannot permit infringements of the security and sovereignty of the Soviet Union. That we shall never agree to. If we were to satisfy the demands that are now being put forward at Geneva by the delegations of the U.S.A. and Britain, we should be agreeing to the organisation of a full-scale intelligence network of the Western powers on our territory.

They may say that the U.S.A. and Britain, in putting forward their proposals, permit the creation of a similar control system on their territories. That may be true, but we do not need to make a reconnaissance of their territory as we do not have any war aims. We have no military bases around the U.S.A., neither in Mexico nor in Canada nor in other countries close to the United States.

The Soviet Union in general has no military bases on foreign territory since we believe that the establishment of such bases, especially at great distances from one's own territory, is nothing else than preparation for war, preparation for aggression.

Now that they have encircled us with their military bases, the Western powers want to establish their bases on our territory for military recon-

naissance, to obtain the right to fly over Soviet territory in order to be able, with the aid of that reconnaissance, to select the moment to put their military bases in action against our country. And they want us to help them to realise these plans.

Is not that a bit too much, gentlemen? If the leaders of a state are concerned with the interests of their country, with the security of their people, if they are in their right minds, could they possibly accede to such demands? It would be a crime against the Fatherland.

We assess requests such as the Western powers make as making demands on the Soviet Union with evil intent. If the Western powers say that they have no evil intentions then I would advise them to drop their demands and not endorse actions that arouse our suspicion.

We are in favour of establishing proper control over the cessation of nuclear tests. The Soviet Union itself has tabled a proposal on such control at the present Geneva Conference. We shall not, however, allow the Western powers, under cover of control, to violate the sovereignty of our country. If the U.S.A. and Great Britain drop their unreasonable demands, the Soviet Union is ready to provide conditions for the effective work of control posts with the participation of foreign representatives, and for installing apparatus and manning it.

It is well known that, at the present time, when there is no international control, nuclear explosions carried out by the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. or Britain do not remain undetected. Furthermore, explosions carried out, say, in the U.S.A. are detected by control apparatus located on the territory of the Soviet Union, while our explosions are recorded in America.

It is now intended to set up a wide network of control posts for the detection of explosions within the bounds of that country where the posts are located. But the Western powers are demanding some sort of unexpected investigations, are demanding the right for their inspectors to make unrestricted journeys throughout the territory of the U.S.S.R.

Is it not clear that the head of such a control system would be turned into a military reconnaissance chief? He would always be able to say that he had a suspicion that there had been an explosion in some district that interested him and then send an expedition to survey that district.

Any politician or statesman, even the most unsophisticated, must know what that would lead to. It would lead to bad results: to the worsening of relations between the parties to the treaty.

We do not demand any exceptional position for ourselves. The only thing we want is conditions that are really equal for us and the Western powers. But the U.S.A. and Britain, that is the N.A.T.O. military bloc, want unilateral advantages for themselves to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet Union.

How far mutual control may go is closely connected with the extent of the confidence between the states. The greater the confidence, the easier it is to agree on extensive control. But, of course, if confidence were absolute no control would be necessary.

Is it permissible to claim the right to unlimited control when the numerous N.A.T.O. military bases around the Soviet Union continue to exist,

when the participants of the aggressive military blocs created by the U.S.A. and Britain—N.A.T.O., the Baghdad Pact and others—impose restrictions even on normal trade relations in respect of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries?

We are accused of using trade for political purposes, while in reality it is precisely the United States that has almost ceased trading with the socialist countries for purely political reasons. Their economic interests require the development of trade, and business circles in the Western countries favour the development of trade.

And that, comrades, is how matters stand with regard to negotiations on the cessation of atom and hydrogen weapon tests. By putting forward proposals they know to be unacceptable, our partners in the Geneva talks apparently want to hinder any solution of the problem in the same way as they did with the problem of preventing a sudden attack, the decision on which they have, in actual fact, shelved. It seems that at the conference on the cessation of tests, too, they intend to drag things out for some time while they are preparing public opinion for a disruption of the negotiations and then, in general, prevent a decision on this important question.

I would be only too glad if my assumptions proved incorrect. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned I want once more to confirm our desire to achieve agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests as soon as possible. We are prepared to sign at any time a treaty on this question, based on reasonable conditions and ensuring the necessary control of explosions.

Comrades, the speeches of congress delegates and the speeches of greetings by leaders of the delegations of fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties have revealed complete unanimity and international solidarity and a unity of views on all questions of the international Communist and Workers' movement. Speakers at the congress spoke of the unity and solidarity of the fraternal parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of their determined struggle against revisionism as the chief danger under present day conditions, thus confirming the correctness of the Declaration of the meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

It is very typical that the work of our congress, which has aroused the great interest and met with the approval of the international communist movement and all progressive people, has been met with extreme irritation by the Yugoslav revisionists. Articles have appeared in the Yugoslav press making clumsy attempts to justify revisionist politics, to hide from the Yugoslav people the Soviet Union's efforts to co-operate with Yugoslavia, and distort the real situation that has arisen in the relations between Yugoslavia and the socialist countries.

The Yugoslav leaders, by their revisionist policy, help in splitting the revolutionary forces of the working class in the struggle for the basic interests of the working people.

They have been unable to say anything convincing in reply to all our remarks concerning what the revisionist policy of the Yugoslav leaders has led to. They feel the weakness of their positions and are resorting to their favourite method, to demagogic declarations that the Soviet Union interferes in their internal affairs. But that is slander. It is well known that

we stand firmly on the position of non-interference in the affairs of other countries and parties. This we have announced once more and very definitely at our congress.

But just look at the despicable and provocative methods the Yugoslav revisionists are now resorting to in an attempt to injure the unity of the socialist countries. As was mentioned in the report, the Yugoslav revisionists are compiling all sorts of inventions about differences of opinion that allegedly exist between our party and the Communist Party of China. In the last few days they have gone still farther and, apparently, in order to substantiate their inventions have drawn in a "substantial witness" and specialist on questions of the "disagreement between the U.S.S.R. and the Chinese People's Republic", the American senator, Hubert Humphrey. You will remember that this senator recently visited the Soviet Union and I had a talk with him.

In the expectation of a noisy sensation, Humphrey, in his speeches and articles, told fairy tales, three bags full of them—such as the story that he had brought a special message from the Soviet government to President Eisenhower (of course no such message existed at all) and that I had confided two important secrets to him. Indeed, I could not find a better partner to share secrets with than Mr. Humphrey! Senator Humphrey's wild imagination ran riot when he began to make up his inventions about the relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic. In this he even exceeded the well-known compiler of fabrications, Baron Munchausen.

And now the Yugoslav revisionists have taken this fabricator unto themselves as a witness. The very idea that I could have been in any way confidential to a man who himself boasts of his twenty-year struggle against communism can only serve to raise a laugh. Anybody who has the slightest knowledge of politics, not to speak of a knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, will understand how unthinkable a confidential talk with Humphrey would be on questions of the policy of the communist parties, on our relations with our best friends, the leading people in the Communist Party of China.

Evidently matters are going so badly with the Yugoslav revisionists that they are picking up all sorts of ridiculous inventions.

This recalls the way perky newspaper sellers sold their gutter papers in tsarist Russia. The newspaper seller would run along shouting:

"Extraordinary event! Woman gives birth to a girl with whiskers! . . ."

And the inexperienced reader, of course, would grab the newspaper and look for the report of that event and not find anything of the sort. But the newspaperman had sold his paper, he had done his job.

It seems to me that Senator Humphrey and the Yugoslavs who spread his inventions have something in common with yellow press vendors.

The Yugoslav leaders react very nervously when something is said about the low living standards of the working people in Yugoslavia. After the report had been made at the congress, the Yugoslav press tried to refute the data given on the living standards of the Yugoslav working people. But facts cannot be refuted. In confirmation of our statement that the living standards of the Yugoslav working people are not rising there are many other figures that can be quoted.

We know, for example, that in Yugoslavia recently the prices of consumer goods and municipal services were again considerably increased. Although wages were raised simultaneously the pay increase did not compensate for the rise in prices. It follows, therefore, that there was a further drop in the living standards of the people. But in the countries of the socialist camp the wellbeing of the people is constantly rising. Nobody can raise an objection to these facts.

To those who try, by referring to statistics, to create the impression that the Yugoslav people enjoy high living standards, we can say: ask the people how they, from their own experience, judge their material level, whether it is rising or falling. And if it rises, then to what extent in comparison with the advance in the living standards in the countries of the socialist camp. The people will give a clear answer to this question. We can express our sympathy with the peoples of Yugoslavia whose standard of living, in all reality, is lagging behind the socialist countries. They have to pay for the policy of their leaders.

Although the Yugoslav press remains silent concerning the feelings of friendship with the Yugoslav working people that have been expressed at our congress, I can declare once more that we have the most friendly feelings towards the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav communists, the heroes of underground and partisan struggle. The Soviet Union will continue to strive for co-operation with Yugoslavia at state level on all questions of the struggle against imperialism and for peace, and will co-operate on all questions on which our positions coincide.

These are the international questions that I thought it worth while speaking about in my concluding speech.

Comrades, the 21st Congress is adopting a magnificent programme of communist construction. Our party and the heroic Soviet people have great things to do.

The fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan will raise our country to such heights that nobody will have any doubts left of the great advantages that communism possesses over moribund capitalism.

We are all of us justly proud of that generation of people who, under the leadership of the immortal Lenin, overcame unbelievable difficulties and created our glorious Communist Party, and who, under its leadership carried through the Great October Socialist Revolution and thereby opened up a new era in history.

We are proud of the generation of people who laid the foundation stones of the magnificent edifice of socialism. Our contemporaries have to make real the dream of mankind—to build a communist society, the most just society on earth.

Centuries will pass but the glory of our heroic epoch, the epoch of socialist and communist construction will never fade. Forward, comrades, along Lenin's path, to the victory of communism.

N. S. Khrushchov's report, and his reply to the discussion, were heard with close attention and approval by the delegates and the guests. Stormy, prolonged applause frequently interrupted both report and reply, and at their conclusion the audience broke into a tumultuous ovation which continued for several minutes.

